609 597 [123] as was Mariner by Mafihape, Finau's wife (41, vol. 1, p. 84). Thus, in December, 1920, the Queen of Tonga arranged for the adoption of Norman Collocott (the youngest son of the Reverend E. E. V. Collocott) by the heir apparent to the throne of Tonga, who assumed the relation of father. The prince was but two years old and Norman four. The Queen bestowed upon Norman the name of Tokeimoana. About the same time a half-caste gentleman named Von Treskow adopted the heir apparent, and in consequence will furnish him henceforth with yams and other produce from his plantations.

597 From information furnished by Fison, Morgan (45, p. 574) states that a child may be adopted as a grandchild: "It should be noted that if a Tongan's grandchildren proper die out, he takes one of his father's sister's greatgrandchildren, who is then *called* his grandchild."

The present high chief Ata, whose birth name was Solomon Piutau, was adopted by Jane Lafulafu, who was sister of the *toutai* Ula, a distant relative of Ata's father. Ata was removed from his parents' home shortly after his first birthday and given the name Solomon Ula (or more fully Ulamoleka). Jane died while Ata was very small and her daughter Ana brought up Ata. Jane Lafulafu had no sons and Ana was barren. John Mohulamu, Ana's husband, was of matapule rank, but served no chief. Later, Solomon was elevated by the king to the Ata chieftainship, he being the nearest heir to the Ata chief who died.

KINSHIP TERMS

601 The Tongan system of kinship terms appears to lack true terms of affinity. Kinship terms are extended liberally to collateral relatives, though not to such a great degree as in the Hawaiian system.

In addition to being designated by one of the regular kinship, the status of a relative may be so described. Thus, the paternal grandfather who is designated by the word *kui*, the generic term for grandparent, may be described as *koe tamai a eku tamai* (the father of my father). Or again a man's father's sister's son, who is designated by one of the words for brother, may be described as *koe tama tangata oe tuofefine a eku tamai* (the child male of the sister of my father). By this scheme all relatives more than one step removed from the speaker may be described. Side by side therefore are a "classificatory" method and a "descriptive" method of designating relatives.

Terms of relationship are not used in address, but personal names are so used. Even small children address their parents by their personal names. In this regard the Tongan practice is opposite that of most North American Indians, the English practice being intermediate between these two extremes.

mand. Kava was also brought as a peace offering. A high chief, who was 622
coöperating with me in gathering data, left word for an old man to come to 276
our temporary residence, distant four or five miles. The old man fail- 431
ing to come, a second messenger was sent with a threat of horsewhipping. [123]
Thereupon the old man came as speedily as his years permitted, bearing a 622
large piece of kava. He was profuse in his apologies, saying that he did 687 576
not know whom it was that had requested his appearance. I noticed that [554]
servants of this chief in approaching bent low and that if he was seated [357]
near the door of the house they would make their exit through a window [516]
rather than pass near him.

A general tapu is placed upon the dishes and the remains of food or 565
drink of a person higher in rank. It was thought that one breaking this tapu 264
would suffer from sore throat, but the person of rank might offset the evil 784
consequences by stroking the throat of the unfortunate person with the hand [753]
(anciently also with the feet). This tapu which holds throughout Tongan [755]
society is particularly observed between a chief and his underlings. To eat
in front of a chief is likewise forbidden, the difficulties being avoided by
eating with the back turned to the chief (*kaitafoki*).

The head of a person, also the back, is tapu to one of lower rank; it 622
is tapu to pass close behind a chief. At big kava parties a great chief who 576
does not sit in the kava ring takes a position which makes passing behind 565
him unnecessary. 284 [826]

The food of a chief had to be prepared in a certain style and certain 622
portions of mammals or birds were regarded as belonging by special prerog- 262
ative to the chief. A roast pig is presented to a chiefly person in the fol- 252
lowing manner: After the pig has been removed from the oven and placed
on its back on the hand barrow, sections of fresh banana leaves tied in place
by strips of banana leaf are wrapped about the extremities of the four legs,
the nose, and the region of the rectum. The purpose of this treatment was [784]
said to be the concealing of all those parts of the pig most in contact with
anything dirty or filthy. The four parts of a pig which are regarded as fit
food for a chief are in order of importance: (a) the back (*tua*), (b) the
head (*ulu*), (c) the rump (*tuungaiku*), (d) the chest (*fatafata*), spoken
of as the common part.

In serving chickens and pigeons to chiefs, the parts in order of importance are: (a) the rump with the oil glands (*muimui*), (b) the skin of the neck and back (*kiliikia*), (c) the legs (*alanga*), (d) the wings and chest (*hikehika*). I saw the operation of dividing a fowl for a high chief. The oil glands and the bit of skin near the rump were given him first. Then the skin at the base of the skull was broken with the fingers and stripped down the back of the neck on to the back.

but have served both the Tui Kanokupolu and the Tui Tonga. Filise Vaita- 565
iki was the present Kama's pre-matapule name. 173
167

At Nomuka Island on October 1, 1920, I witnessed the appointment of 565
a minor matapule to office by the governor of Haapai. During the ceremony 624
Pahulu received the title of Pilimokaupua, the name of a matapule from [123]
Maufanga, Tongatabu, and which refers to a little hill in Maufanga. (One [554]
informant said that the hill in Maufanga is called Kaupua and another that
Pili and Kaupua were two chiefs of Maufanga.)

After the governor had assigned the title, kava was served and the mata- [276]
pule was called by his new name. The last Pilimokaupua had no son, hence [553]
he was succeeded in title by his brother's son, Pahulu, who on his father's [428]
side at least was of matapule blood. By receiving this title the social posi- [554]
tion of Pahulu was materially enhanced and his rank advanced.

To-day matapules use staff and fly whisk like Samoan *tulafale*. When 565
addressing an assembly in which high chiefs are present, a matapule stands; 624
in a *faikava,* he sits; in an assembly where chiefs are not present, he may 622
sit or stand as he likes. A chiefly informant said that the use of fly whisk [516]
and staff by matapules is a late practice, that anciently these objects were [537]
used by chiefs only.

It seems to be the custom for the prospective heir to a matapule title 565
to serve as a substitute in the absence of the title holder. In the absence of 624
both the title bearer and the prospective heir, the relative next in line, even 428
such collateral relatives as cousins, may serve. A younger brother of a matapule, serving in his place is called matapule *tehina* (younger brother).

The chief matapules of the Tui Kanokupolu are Lauaki and Motuapuaka 565
who reside in Tongatabu. Their representatives or substitutes in other islands 644
are: Haapai, Kofe and Afeaki; Vavau, Fotu and Afu Haa Laufuli; Niu- [551]
atoputapu, Sika and Kaufanga; Niuafoou, Masila and Haufano.

Mariner lists certain occupations which are followed by matapules. The [502]
occupation of *toutai vaka* or navigator was an important one. The two principal matapule navigators were Leka for the Tui Tonga and Ula for the Tui Kanokupolu. Like the great matapule Lauaki, Ula originally served the Tui Tonga, but was later sent by the Tui Haa Takalaua to serve the Tui Kanokupolu. An old poem tells how Ula and Leka bridge the gap between the Tui Tonga and the Tui Kanokupolu. Ulamoleka (that is, Ula and Leka) was a chief adopted by Leka. He said of himself: "Kauhalauta (Tui Tonga side) and Kauhalalalo (Tui Kanokupolu side) are far apart, but I am the one who brings them close together, referring to the fact that he had the names of the two *toutai.*

(36, vol. 1, p. 301) refer to a Tongan king, apparently about the twentieth 266
Tui Tonga, who was a cannibal. An unusual form of cannibalism is re- 643
vealed in the story of the Tui Tonga Takalaua and Kauulufonua I. Two 175
assassins were carved to pieces alive and their raw flesh served as relish [27[illegible]]
for the kava drinking (26, p. 34). Bamboo knives were used as carvers. [687]
A story about the deity Hikuleo (op. cit. p. 192) refers also to the carving [412]
alive of children for food. See page 312 for the reference to a cannibal 000
god of Samoa who was ultimately slain himself and eaten by the son of a
Tui Haa Takalaua.

ENTERTAINMENT

Tongan entertainments have been well described by Cook and sub- 535
sequent writers. By far the best general account of Tongan dances is given [114]
by Bishop Blanc (39, pp. 74-86). Some scraps of additional information
are presented here.

At the wedding of the present queen of Tonga the following dances 585
were performed: the *kailau*, an Uvean dance by men, in which small 535
paddles called *kaupaki* are used; *mauluulu*, a Samoan dance; *meke*, a Fijian [177]
dance; *tau fakaniua*, a Niuatoputapu dance; *lakalaka*, a Tongan dance, in
which the women were seated, the men standing. Every village put on a
lakalaka. The songs accompanying some of the dances told about the 533
queen's wedding. The songs of the Vavau people told about a recent
famine there.

At an entertainment which I attended at Taunga, April 2, 1921, a 538
poetic reference was made by a poet and his chorus to a visit I had made 533
in the forenoon of the day to the great vault tomb of hapless Talafaiva, 123
wife of the Tui Tonga Uluakimata I (26, p. 37). Whether the poet spoke
extemporaneously or whether he knew of my intended visit, the reference
was cleverly made.

This entertainment, which was a picnic, was given us by the Governor 517
of Vavau, but the refreshments and entertainment were actually furnished
by Akauola, the matapule who holds Taunga as a fief from the king. About 535
twenty Taunga girls danced. They were seated in a row on mats outside
the sunshelter under which the food was served. The costumes were varied, [292]
consisting of leaves and flowers sewed to cloth and tapa, also bright colored
cloth garments. Plumes of red and blue material and guinea-hen feathers [301]
were worn in the hair of some of the dancers. The exposed portions of the [302]
body were oiled.

All were sitting dances with the exception of two which seemed to be endurance contests. They were performed by pairs of girls, a man joining in apparently to urge on the girls. In one of these dances the feet were

[Niuatoputapu Island]

accorded its inhabitants by the Tui Tonga Kauulufonua I, that they should push away the boats of the Tongans, and not let them land. In Nukualofa, at the time of my sojourn there, resided Maatu, the hereditary ruler of Niuatoputapu and virtually king thereof. An opportunity was therefore afforded of obtaining some information concerning that group. 103 123

Niuatoputapu was discovered on May 10, 1616, by the Dutch explorers Schouten and Lemaire. It thus constitutes the earliest discovered portion of the Tongan Archipelago. Basil Thomson (54, pp. 398, 399) gives an account of the visit of Schouten and Lemaire. Wallis visited Niuatoputapu on August 13, 1767. Nails, which he left there, were later found in the possession of the Tui Tonga Pau by Captain Cook a few years later. 177 175

Niuatoputapu group comprises two islands, Niuatoputapu or Keppel which rises to an altitude of 350 feet, and the volcanic cone of Tafahi or Boscawen which is two thousand feet high. These islands are located in latitude 16° south. 133 131

The Maatu whom I interviewed claimed to be the tenth ruler of the line, the first ruler bearing the title of Latu, the title which Schouten and Lemaire give for the ruler of Niuatoputapu. The following is the king list as given by the Maatu of 1921. 634 622 173 [123]

1. Latumailangi (chief from heaven) or Puakatefisi (pig from Fisi, a place on Tafahi Island). Pigs seem to be especially associated with Tafahi Island from which Puakatefisi came, for the people of the neighboring Niuatoputapu say of Tafahi, when the clouds are around its summit, that the gods must be cooking pigs, for there is the smoke. 634 622 173 551

2. Puakailakelo, son of 1. His name means "pig with yellow spots." It was he who is said to have changed the title from Latu to Maatu. The traditional reason for the change is as follows: Lavelua, the ruler of Uvea, came on a visit to Niuatoputapu, bringing with him his shell fishhook. In the dialect of Niuatoputapu such a fish hook is called *pa*. In the Uvean dialect it was called *utumaatu*. Latu fancied the name of the fish hook so the two kings traded fish-hook names. In Uvea such a fish hook was henceforth to be called *pa* and in Niuatoputapu it was to be called *utumaatu*. The ruler of the latter island then adopted the title of Maatu for himself and successors, discarding the older term Latu. In Uvea the old term *utumaatu* for fish hook became tapu. The Tamaha's genealogies have the following to say about Puakailakelo and his brother Pungakaitafola: [826] [776]

There were two brothers, Pungakaitafola and Puakailakelo. Pungakaitafola was Maatu, but on account of his sickness (nose trouble) he allowed his younger brother Puakailakelo to take the title, and he became Maatu.

A boat arrived from Niuafoou with two women, who were passengers, by name of Hekuau and Siulolovao; the latter was the child of Valamotu (daughter of Fusitua and Fotofili Alofi). Puakailakelo courted Hekuau, but she refused him as she had already a sweetheart at Niuafoou (Mailelatamai), and Siulolovao then accepted the courtship of Puakailakelo. Before Siulolovao had any children she adopted a little girl named Fataimoamanu as her first child to Puakailakelo. Fataimoamanu was the daughter of Alokuoulu the brother of Siulolovao.

2: Mariner

OU9 Tonga OU9

177, 114, 123, 609

[For information on the activities, treatment and influence of Mariner on Tonga culture, see Category 727.]

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

114 qualifications as a narrator, it remains to furnish a short account of the advantageous opportunities which fell in his way. In the first place, it must be stated, that he was by far the best educated of all those who survived the capture of the Port
114 au Prince. From the first moment the
123 king of the Tonga islands saw him, he con-
609 ceived a strong prejudice in his favour,
727 and gave orders to those who had the management of the conspiracy, that if they should find it necessary to make a great slaughter, they were nevertheless to preserve *his* life;—this was the commencement of a friendship which lasted till the king's death: he gave him a residence within his own fencing; appointed one of his wives, a very sensible and well informed woman, to be his adopted mother, that she might employ her time in instructing him in the language and exact customs of the country: he admitted him to all his conferences with his chiefs, priests, and mataboole: at length he adopted him as his own son, and gave him the name of a favourite son, (Togi Oocumméa), who had

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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died a few years before: wherever the 114
king went, Mr. Mariner might accompany 123
him if he chose: in all the battles fought 609
by the king, Mr. Mariner was present. 727
After his death, his son, who succeeded, equally extended to him his patronage and protection, or rather Mr. Mariner might be called his dearest brother, his constant, intimate, and confidential friend; and so sorry was the young king to part with him, that he actually proposed to give up his dominions to his uncle, and accompany Mr. Mariner to England,—a sufficient proof that the latter possessed those qualities of mind calculated to inspire a high degree of confidence and friendship. But perhaps I am anticipating too much of some of the subjects of the following sheets; it appears to me, however, proper to state these things, that the mind of the reader may be prepared, without mistrust, for the quantity of interesting matter which so young a man has collected and remembered.

It is now four years since Mr. Mariner's 114
arrival from the West Indies; during which

tooas who till the ground, and remain constantly 581
so; the unmarried women, therefore, live principally [589]
at the mooa, or place where the chiefs,
matabooles, &c. dwell, and are attendants upon
them or their wives. Girls that are too young
to be marriageable are not taken into account.
Having thus ascertained, as nearly as possible,
the proportion of married women, we shall make
an inquiry how far it may reasonably be supposed
they are entitled to the reputation of
fidelity. During the whole of Mr. Mariner's 837
four years residence at one or other of these 727
islands, he had frequent opportunities of intimacy
with the wives of chiefs; for being a foreigner, 609
and a white man, he was free from a 123
great many restrictions to which the natives are
subject: for instance, whenever he pleased he
could go in the houses of Finow's wives, or of
the wives of other chiefs, and converse freely
with them as long as he chose, which was a liberty
that no male native could take beside the
husband, relations, or the cooks that carried in
the victuals; and from habit they became so
much accustomed to his company and conversation
as to think very little more of his presence
than of one of their own sex, and consequently
he had every favourable opportunity of becoming
acquainted with their habits and sentiments,
particularly as one of the old king's wives, his

837 adopted mother, was a woman of very good
sense and unaffected manners, and freely dis-
727 coursed with him upon all points that related to
609 her happiness, to that of her female acquaint-
123 ance, or to the condition of the women in general; besides which, it must be recollected, that Mr. Mariner, being upon the greatest intimacy with the principal chiefs, was acquainted with most of their intrigues, which they did not scruple to relate to him, both on account of the confidence they had in him, and his being a foreigner*.

837 With such opportunities of knowing the habits of the natives, relative to the subject in question, Mr. Mariner is decidedly of opinion that infidelity among the married women is comparatively very rare. He only recollects three successful instances of planned intrigue during the whole of his time; one at the Hapai islands, on the part of Voogi, (the young chief mentioned on the occasion of the old king's death,) who was considered the handsomest man at the Tonga islands; and two on the part of the present king, whose high rank and authority

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* This seems an odd reason for placing confidence in such matters; but it arises from this circumstance, that, being a foreigner, he was not supposed to take that interest in their concerns which might lead a native to thwart any conduct which he did not happen to approve of.

must on the one hand render his attentions 837
flattering to the women, whilst on the other it
may be supposed to excite a little apprehension
of the consequences of a refusal. A fourth instance
may perhaps be added, on the part of the
late king, with respect to Foonagi, the wife of
Tymomangnoongoo, but this is only upon suspicion.
Several other instances no doubt there 123
were, at different islands; but as so few were 357
known to him, who had better opportunities of
information than any native, we may presume
that infidelity on the part of the women is a
very unfrequent occurrence; and where it does
happen, it must be with the connivance of their
female attendants and servants, who are always
with them, and attend them abroad, not as
spies over their conduct, but as companions, it
not being thought decorous, particularly for
the wife of a chief, to walk out by herself: the
wives of matabooles and mooas may walk out
in the neighbourhood without attendants, but
never to any distance. These are, therefore, 684
great restrictions upon the conduct of married 565
women; but there is one still greater, viz. the 589
fear of discovery, which must operate very
strongly on the part of the wives of great
chiefs, in whom an act of infidelity might occasion
her husband to prevent a repetition by killing
her: and as to the wives of persons of lesser

thus schooled: nor would any one, as Mr. Mariner believes, undertake an important surgical operation, unless he feels himself confident in what he is about to perform; and it must be said of them, that they are not rash in their opinions. When a surgeon performs an operation, he never fails to obtain a present from the patient or his friends. 752 [177] [465] [59]

The three most important operations are *cawso*, or paracentesis thoracis; *tocolosi*, or an operation for the cure of tetanus, which consists in making a seton of the urethra; and *boca*, or castration.

Cawso is an operation which is performed to allow of the escape of extravasated blood, which may have lodged in the cavity of the thorax, in consequence of wounds, or for the extraction of a broken arrow. There are no other instances where they think of performing it. The instruments they use are a piece of bamboo and a splinter of shell; sometimes a probe made of the mid-rib of the cocoa-nut leaf. Mr. Mariner has seen a number of persons on whom the operation had been performed, and who were in perfect health; and two instances of the fact itself he was an eyewitness to. The one we are about to describe was performed upon a Fiji islander, who had received a barbed arrow in the right side, be- [413] [123]

752 pened at Vavaoo, at different times. In either
164 case the disease came on suddenly, three or
[759] four days after the wound was received, which
[562] was from an arrow not barbed. The moment
the symptoms became evident *tocolósi* was per-
752 formed. In the short space of two hours one
of them was greatly relieved, and the other in about six or eight hours. The following day the one on whom Hala A'pi A'pi operated was quite well, and afterwards had no other attack; consequently the thread was withdrawn: but the other on the second day was not quite free from spasmodic symptoms, and a paroxysm coming on, the seton was moved frequently, which in two or three hours gave him great relief, and he afterwards had no other attack: it was thought prudent, however, to keep in the seton till the fourth or fifth day, when it was withdrawn. The effect of this operation was a considerable pain and tumefaction of the penis, but which gradually subsided (in about five or six days): the artificial openings in both cases healed spontaneously, without any difficulty.

These are the only two cases of tetanus in
752 which this operation was performed that Mr.
123 Mariner can speak of with certainty, having
been an eye-witness of them. He heard of several others at the Hapai islands, at the island of Tonga, &c. some of which were equally for-

tunate. From what he has heard and seen 152
of the success of this operation at the Tonga 123
islands, he is disposed to believe that about three
or four in ten recover by the aid of it. The 171
Fiji islanders, however, speak of the happy effects
of this singular mode of cure with much
more confidence than the natives of Tonga; but
as they claim the merit of the discovery, they
are probably rather too profuse in praise of it.

Tetanus is not the only disease for the cure 152
of which the operation of *tocolósi* is performed: [827]
it is adopted also in cases of wounds in the abdomen,
upon the mistaken notion that any extravasated
blood in the cavity of the abdomen
is capable of passing off by the discharge from
the urethra. Mr. Mariner saw the operation [123]
performed once in this case, and, as the man
was considered in a very bad state, and notwithstanding
got well, the cure was attributed
to this remedy. It is also performed for relief
in cases of general languor and inactivity of the
system; but, in such instances, they only endeavour
to produce irritation by passing the
reed without any thread or artificial opening:
the present king had it thus performed on him
for this purpose; and two days afterwards he
said he felt himself quite light, and full of
spirits.

The natives of these islands are very subject [164]

752 to enlarged testicles, and for this they sometimes
[164] perform the operation of *boca* (castration).
[123] Mr. Mariner's limited observation on this subject
does not authorize him to speak with any
degree of certainty in regard to the precise
nature of these tumefactions. Their mode of
performing this operation is summary enough:
a bandage being tied with some degree of firmness
round the upper part of the scrotum, so as
to steady the diseased mass, at the same time
that the scrotum is closely expanded over it,
an incision is made with bamboo, just large
enough to allow the testicle to pass, which being
separated from its cellular connexions, the
cord is divided, and thus ends the operation:
they neither tie the cord, nor take any pains to
stop the bleeding; but, if the testicle be not
very large, and the epidydimis not apparently
diseased, they perform the operation by dissecting
it from that body with the same instrument.
The external wound is kept from
closing by a pledget of the banána leaf, which
is renewed every day till the discharge has
ceased; the scrotum, in the mean time, is supported
[124] by a bandage. A profuse hæmorrhage
is mostly the consequence of this operation:
it was performed seven times within the sphere
of Mr. Mariner's knowledge, during his stay;
to three of which he was a witness: not one

of the seven died. One of these cases was 752
that of a man who performed the operation on 123
himself: his left testicle was greatly enlarged,
being about five or six inches in diameter,
and gave him, at times, severe lancinating
pains: two or three times he was about to
have the operation performed by a native of
Fiji, but his courage failed him when he came
to the trial. One day when Mr. Mariner was
with him, he suddenly determined to perform
the operation on himself; and it was not much
sooner said than done: he tied on the bandage,
opened the scrotum with a very steady hand,
in a fit of desperation divided the cord and
cellular substance together, and fell senseless
on the ground: the hæmorrhage was very profuse.
Mr. Mariner called in some persons to
his assistance, and he was carried into a house,
but did not become sensible for nearly an hour,
and was in a very weak state from loss of
blood: this affair confined him to the house for
two or three months. There was one rare instance 164
of a man, both of whose testes were 165
affected with some species of sarcoma, to a degree
almost beyond credit: when he stood up,
his feet were necessarily separated to the distance
of three quarters of a yard, and the
loaded scrotum, or rather the morbid mass,
reached to within six inches of the ground:

164 in the latter stages it somewhat resembles
165 phthisis. It comes on with occasional chilliness, loss of appetite, lowness of spirits, wasting of the flesh: shortly succeed swellings in the groin and axillæ; general debility, paleness of the lips. As the disease advances the patient stoops very much; experiences pain in the chest, and across the shoulders: sometimes, but not often, a cough, and expectoration now supervene, the debility and emaciation become extreme, and death relieves the patient from his sufferings: these are all the symptoms which Mr. Mariner
[751] can speak of with certainty. They use no physical remedies.

164 *Féke-feke* appears to be a sort of mild irregular intermittent: the paroxysm usually lasts from two to eight hours, and consists of a cold and a hot stage; but is seldom succeeded by perspiration. The returns of the paroxysm are very uncertain; sometimes two, at other times three, four, five or more days intervene. The patient is sometimes perfectly well for a month, and then his disorder returns.

123 In regard to diseases properly belonging to females, Mr. Mariner has very little to communicate.
841 The women are in general tolerably healthy: during the catamenia, they anoint
844 themselves all over with a mixture of oil and
751 turmeric, to avoid catching cold; and they do

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

10,000,000,000 *tolo tafai* (tole ho fäë), for which see the Vocabulary: 104
1,000,000,000,000, *lingha* (linga) see the Vocabulary: for a higher number
they give him *uata* (the glans penis); for a still higher number, *kaimaou* (ky 802
ma ow), by which they tell him to eat up the things which they have just 114
been naming to him: but M. Labillardiere was not probably the first subject of this sort of Tonga wit, which is very common with them. In the other numbers he is tolerably correct, except in putting *giloo* for *mano*, and *mano* for *giloo*: his general accuracy in respect to the numbers does him great credit.

SYNTAX.

To enter minutely into this subject, according to the usual form of grammars, would perhaps tend rather to perplex the memory than to assist the 193 judgment: for we are not treating of a language the rules of which have been before systematically investigated, and written down; we are at present only in the act of making an investigation, in which the reader is requested to accompany us*. General rules have already been given under each part of speech, we shall now therefore merely furnish a few other observations in regard to construction, and give a few of the more difficult idioms of speech; and in order that the reader may be better enabled to construe the ensuing specimens of composition, and thereby arrive at the genius of the language, a strictly literal translation will be adjoined to each.

1. In the first place, it must be noticed, that the tenses of verbs are often confounded; the future is frequently used for the present, and the present for the past; thus, *I do not know* is rendered in Tonga by *iky' teoo iloa*, literally, *I shall not know*. The present tense is generally used for the past, when the action spoken of happened not long before.

2. The future tense is also often used to express *should*, *would*, likewise *can*, *could*: thus, *iky' teoo aloo*, I cannot go; *capów tenne aloo*, if he should go.

3. When the future tense is used to express can, could, would, should, &c. and the negative is connected with it; the latter always comes immediately before the sign of the tense *te*. It must also be observed, that in this application of the future, the second class of personal pronouns (or those which follow verbs, and may be Englished by *myself*, *thyself*, &c.) may either be used or not, in addition to those that come before the verb: note also, that in this form of the future the third person singular is always *tenne*, &c.: for example.

Iky' teoo aloo (*gita*); I can, could, would, or should not go.

Iky' tegger aloo (*coy*); thou canst, wouldst, or shouldst not go.

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* Mr. Mariner of course only obtained a practical knowledge of the language, for the natives themselves have no other. I have depended upon him to furnish me with good composition, and upon this the whole of the present investigation is built.

[123]

[p. 371]

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

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tween their several languages have been already shewn by Cook and other navigators, but under a very disadvantageous circumstance, the want of a free communication of ideas; in consequence of which, many wrong words have been given; thus, *lille* is the Tonga word for *good*, but Cook gives *my fogge* (my fuki), which means, *give it me if you please:* for a bead he gives, *attahoa*, which should be *cahoa:* he gives *kooma* (co-ooma) for the burnt circular marks in the skin; but this word means *why? for what?* whilst the proper word for those marks is *lafa*. For *to sneeze*, he gives *efango* (fafango), signifying, to *blow* the nose; the word for sneezing being *mafatoa:* for the head, *ooloo pokko* (oolouboco), which means the skull: for the number 100,000, he gives *laoo noa (low-noa)*, which literally means nonsense, or foolish discourse! From at least fifty to a hundred other instances of this, out of the same vocabulary, might be quoted; and the same with Labillardiere's Vocabulary, of which indeed we have already noticed a few remarkable instances.

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With respect to the Malayan language, Mr. Mariner has, with great diligence and attention, looked over the whole of the English part of Marsden's Malayan Dictionary, and has selected the following list of above sixty words, which bear a considerable resemblance to the corresponding Tonga words. It is here very worthy of remark, that those Tonga words which contain the sound of the letter *f* have in its place the letter *p* or *b* in the Malayan: and the above author notices in his preface to the same excellent work, that the Malays not having the sound *f* in their own language, generally substitute *p* for it in those adopted Arabic words where it occurs*.

TONGA.	MALAYAN.	ENGLISH.
ica	ikan	fish
nima	lima	five

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* The transition from the *f* to the *p* is perhaps more natural than may at first sight appear. Some nations confound the *f* with the *v*; others the *v* with the *b*, and others again the *b* with the *p*. The Germans make little or no distinction between the sounds of *f* and *v*; the Spaniards have an intermediate sound of *v* and *b*, and the Tonga people of *b* and *p*. The word for land or country is sounded by the Tonga people *fonnooa*; the word for the same idea among some of the Fiji people is *vonnooa*, whilst others of the same nation pronounce the first letter like the Spanish sound between *v* and *b*, and others again distinctly call it *bonnooa*, from which the transition to *ponnooa* would evidently be very easy. In searching for analogies between the languages of the South Pacific Ocean, as they regard each other, and as they may have a relation to those of the Asiatic nations, it seems necessary to pay particular attention not only to the mutations of sound above noticed, but also to those between the *l* and *r*, the *h* and *s*, the hard *g*, *k*, and *t*, and probably some others: without such attention the eye and ear may be easily deceived, and overlook some very strong coincidences. My authority for the Fiji pronunciation above given, is Jeremiah Higgins, who was at those islands thirteen weeks. [123]

[p. 384]

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

Tongan Myths and Tales

COMPILED BY EDWARD WINSLOW GIFFORD

INTRODUCTION

The printing press has undoubtedly done more to preserve the extant 114
Tongan myths and legends than has oral transmission. Fortunately both
the Wesleyan Methodist and the Roman Catholic churches in Tonga adopted
the broad policy of publishing in their Tongan language magazines many
stories from raconteurs now long dead. A number of tales presented in 127
the following pages are drawn from these sources.

A series of stories was recorded at first hand from Tongan narrators 124
during my nine months sojourn in Tonga in 1920-1921. For many of them
the published versions, rather than the tales of some elder relative, were
the relater's source of information. For such tales I have discarded the 128
oral account and have presented only a translation of the printed version. 127

European folk tales have also been published in Tongan for the delectation 177
of the Tongan public. As a result I not infrequently found myself
recording some well known story, such as Cinderella or Dick Whittington's 538
Cat, under a thin disguise of Polynesian names. There were also [124]
hybrid tales in which the leading roles were played by princes, princesses,
and premiers, or again by cats and ferocious mammals.

Through the diligent efforts of the late Reverend Father Francis Xavier 113
Reiter of the Catholic Church and of the Reverend E. E. V. Collocott of the 114
Methodist Church, a number of Tongan myths have been presented in the
anthropological periodicals Anthropos and Folk-Lore. Myths thus recorded 128
are not reproduced in this paper, except insofar as I secured variants or the
original Tongan text.

Modern Tongans have a distinct national pride and feel that they constitute 186
a nation superior to their neighbors. I am inclined to believe that
this national spirit is a survival from ancient times, which has been fanned
into fresh vigor under the astute guidance of that remarkable ruler, King
George I. Tupou. An undoubted manifestation of this patriotic feeling is [814]
the interest taken by many Tongans in the past of their nation. As a result 123
of this widespread interest the expedition met with hearty coöperation from
Tongans as well as from Europeans.

The interest of the educated Tongan in the past of his country is well 539
illustrated by the following Tongan verse written by the late chief Tafolo, 814
a scion of the Tui Tonga's house.

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

114 aries Maristes (29), Hazlewood (24), Pratt (32), and, to a less extent, to other dictionaries of Polynesian languages.

In my possession is a book (7), in which are pencilled notes giving some 127 of the native names of plants, I think, by Mr. Crosby. I thank Mr. Crosby for this kindness to one who is a stranger to him. Yet comparatively few of the plants are thus distinguished, and it is to be hoped that recent botanical work in Tonga will fill in the large gaps. To Mr. E. W. Gifford I owe Graffe's very useful list of the birds of Tonga, with native, scientific, and many popular names. To him also am I indebted for some of the poems in this collection, and, jointly with Her Majesty Queen Salote Tupou, for a copy of the "Royal and Chiefs' Genealogies." The published papers of the late Rev. Dr. J. E. Moulton, and his unpublished papers (31) have provided much material. I would also thank my colleague, the Rev. R. C. G. Page, for frequent assistance. For the use of Tukuaho's Diary, I am indebted to his son, His Royal Higness Prince Tungi.

For the tunes I am indebted to my old pupil Mr. Manoa Havea, to my 126 wife, and to Mr. S. Jackling, of Albury, New South Wales. Some airs were written down for me by Mr. Havea, and others were sung by my 123 wife from memory and written by Mr. Jackling. My wife's idiomatic and facile use of the Tongan language, her ability to place herself in relations of easy familiarity with the people, and her keen interest in all that con- 128 cerned them have made me her constant debtor. To Tongan friends my obligations are endless, and full acknowledgment is not possible; but in especial would I thank His Royal Highness Tungi, the late Hon. Tupoutoa, Miss Alice Ahio, many of my old pupils, both boys and girls, at the Tupou College, Nukualofa, and boys of the newer section of the Tupou College at Nafualu, in especial Manoa Havea, J. Havili, and F. Penitani.

But most of all do I owe to my friend and colleague at the Tupou Col- 538 lege, the Rev. John Havea. Tongan poetry, condensed, pregnant, is full of allusions which require an intimate knowledge of the circumstances referred to for their understanding. This applies to the compositions of contemporaries. Much of the language and many of the allusions of the poetry of an earlier, even comparatively recent, time are unintelligible to 124 most living Tongans. Without Mr. Havea's help this work would have been impossible. What there is of fair interpretation of Tongan ways of thought in it is owing to him, and I count myself fortunate to have had many years of close association and intimate friendship with a man so intelligently interested in the past and bravely hopeful for the future of his people. I would have this paper be a memorial of our many conversations, often extending far into the night, either in his room or in mine, at Nafualu.

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

Tu'ula he tata'anga lei,	Light on the place where ivory is carved, 539
Ifi e kele'a ta moe vehi.	Blow the conch, beat the drum. 76
Pehe ni ha 'aho kou ma 'i heni;	'Twas such a day that we were here;"
Mate 'ofa he enau nofo holo,	How I love their sitting about,
Taupala 'e he taka tolo,	Frequenting of those who come to the games,"
Tama 'ae fuifui pule'oto,"	The chief with necklace of *puleoto,*
'O tu'ula 'i he vao motelolo.	And they gather amongst the *motelolo.*"
Angi mai angi he he-'ia	Blow hither, blow, *he, he'ia,*
Langi faka-sinifu e nofo.	Choir of women farewell."

On the Death of the Tui Tonga

Very unfortunately the record of this very ancient poem has been mutilated. The effort to recover the missing lines from the memory of a very able Tongan who had read them was unsuccessful. Four lines and the greater part of a fifth are missing. 539 76 643

Neu tu'u 'i Langi-'e-he-tupua,	I stood in Langiehetupua,' [127]
Mana-foli lupe otu fonua,	Pigeons flew ominous throughout the lands,' [124]
Na'i Mata-'o-peka mo Vei-tuna,	Ah, poor Mataopeka and Veituna,'
Faka'ofa 'e Malama-'i-saua,	Malamaisaua moves pity,'
Koe tu'i 'o mama mo 'otua.	King of earth and a god.'
Tanumanga ne tu'u moe tatau,	That which is buried was there with the screen,'
Tu'u ai 'Ala-'i-vaha-mama'o;	Alaivahamamao stood there;'
Koe Tu'a-niu hala kuo mao.	The Midrib-of-the-coconut-leaflet is dead, what a thing has happened.'
Na'i Lupe 'o Manono mo Fualu	Dear Pigeon of Manono and Fualu'
Tu'u (he?)..........................evalu	Stood..eight"
(four lines)	(four lines)
Ko homau Tu'i ka maliu atu	Our King is returning thither
'Oafio 'i Pulotu-tu'u-ma'u	To reign in Pulotutuumau."
'Ae toki pata 'e asihau	Then the king's attendants rejoice"
'I he ene taulalo 'a Vava'u.	When Vavau sinks out of sight."
Ho he.	*Ho he.*"

Koe Takipo o Nau

When a very great chief dies fires are kept burning throughout the night round the house in which the body is lying. This ceremony, which is called *takipo,* has been witnessed twice on a large scale in Nukualofa during recent years, once on the death of Fatafehi, Tui Pelehake, in 1912, and again in 1918 when King George Tupou II died. During the nights in which the king's body was lying in state, the Palace enclosure was surrounded by hundreds of torches, tended by people who sat noiseless. Each light was burning over a little hearth, called *fakaolaanga,* formed of a tray (*pola*) of plaited coconut leaf, on which were laid pieces of the stem of the plantain tree, covered with a layer of sand. To bring the sand for this purpose is *fala mai ae one one.* 766 764 372 [123]

175 suppose, over every one, sends afflictions and maladies
776 if he is angry, and when irreconcileable, occasions
[784] the death of the person. It is to render him propitious
[761] that the relations so often wound themselves,
and sometimes put some of the sick persons' wives or
[782] domestics to death.

By this time, having become very fluent in the
175 language, I extended my acquaintance, and was
797 the companion of the chiefs in most of their expeditions
123 and excursions. They much respected me, and esteemed me as a very entertaining companion; as I could now, with a ready familiarity of language, amuse them with tales and descriptions of European customs, inventions, and events; and understand their remarks and tales in answer. I had it now in my power also to entertain large parties in return, and had learned to join in their amusements with too great facility and pleasure.

I took pains also to endear myself to the chiefs by timeing my presents, and presenting them in the most approved and acceptable manner. My abbee being in a high state of cultivation, in the scarcest seasons abounded with fruits, and probably it would have been a chief source of supply to Mulkaamair.
175 When scarcity desolated the country around, ripe
797 plantains bended the branches of my trees, of which
123 I would cut twenty branches and send them as a
431 present to Mulkaamair, borne on the shoulders of
482 forty men. This was the etiquette of Tonga: the

175 manner of doing it rendered the present doubly
797 valuable, and no present could be more acceptable
123
431 and handsome than this, as Mulkaamair liked plan-
482 tains more than all other fruits.

175
634 Though he was pleased with the presents sent him, yet he had a dignity of spirit, that prevented
431 him, in the scarce seasons, from calling on me, even
[731] though he was in the neighbourhood, and but badly
[829] supplied with provisions. Had I been a native chief, he would have called without ceremony; but he was above seeking assistance from moolee, or the stranger. He was a man of such boundless generosity, that if I even went to him and asked him to let me have a field of his to cultivate, he would laugh, and say, "go and take it." Hence, whenever I understood he was in the neighbourhood, I always took care to dress a pig, and sent it him; and he never omitted to return me equal kindness. This[1] manner of bestowing, was surprisingly refined. If he sent me a pig, those who brought it, would say, "they had brought a pig, but it was very small, and intended for the servants, if I would permit them, for Mulkaamair's sake, to accept it.*" The servants then rose, and thanked the bear-

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* The respectful and refined manner, in which Abigail presented to David, two hundred loaves, two bottles of wine, five sheep ready dressed, five measures of parched corn, and an hundred clusters of raisins, and two hundred cakes of figs, when he was marching at the head of four hundred

[1] [Erratum: this should read His. Cf. errata sheet, Category 116, p. 235---Analyst.]

[This page retyped by HRAF.]

was very industrious in planting, dressing and clean- 175
ing them. I increased in favour with the chiefs, 797]
who esteemed me as a man of deligence and skill;
and in time, I should, it is probable, have become [123]
as wealthy as many of the chiefs; as my land was [651]
very productive, and freed from the fadangyeer, or tax on labour, described above, which was a great burden to every other estate.

But now an event took place, which swept away all my prospects of greatness;—but was eventually the means of my merciful restoration to my country, and what was much more, to my God.

186 pride. He does not think of himself as being a "native,"
as one who creates burdens for the white man to bear. He
thinks of himself first and foremost as a Tongan with various
civic and political responsibilities.

177 Foreigners are permitted to reside in the kingdom, indeed
are welcome in the towns, because of specific technical skills
609 and training which are vitally necessary at the present time
186 to provide the mass of the Tongan population with various
social and governmental services which the Tongan state
wishes its citizens to enjoy. Foreigners therefore, are
thought of more as advisors than controllers, very necessary
advisors in a very complex world which the Tongan feels
himself unable as yet properly to understand, let alone to
play in it an independent role. Significant of this attitude
[144] is the fact, for instance, that whereas white doctors are
thought of as advisors to the Tongan health service (and
practitioners with special skills too), the burden of providing
these health services is conceived as falling on Tongans who
have been trained as medical practitioners in Suva. These
Tongans are officially known in Tonga as "Tongan Medical
Practitioners"; elsewhere in the Pacific, Polynesians and
Melanesians who have received similar training in Suva are
known simply as "Native Medical Practitioners." The
social distance between being a "native" and being a
"Tongan" may not be particularly relevant for the more
obtuse foreigner resident in Tonga. To the Tongans, those
two words mean all the difference between being a subordinate people on the one hand and being theoretical masters
of their own bailiwick on the other. In this connection, the
term "theoretical" is used advisedly. Realistic insight into
the ultimate nature of the functioning, and not merely
formal, control of the Kingdom of Tonga quickly suggests
that the invisible hand that guides the destiny of this Kingdom is definitely white in colour, and not a Tongan brown—
were the colour visible!

177 In the attempt to characterize further the attitudes of
609 villager to whites, it is also difficult to distinguish between
the attitudes toward familiar whites on the one hand and to
123 us as strangers on the other. Our arrival in Pangai was
greeted with a mixture of reserve, suspicion, curiosity,
interest. Suspicion was probably the most important

element in the mixture. This was the first time that whites 177
had ever thought to stay in Pangai. Suspicion of motives 609
was therefore natural. It was only after some days that 123
suspicion was supplanted by the acceptance of familiarity and we could slip into the everyday activities of the village. Some, however, even to the end, appeared dour and unresponsive. We had in fact the very definite impression that [157] compared with some other Polynesian peoples, the Tongan villager was much less open-hearted and communicative than his kinsmen in other Pacific islands.

The average villager seems to have little personal 177
acquaintance with any white people in Neiafu. He may 609
recognize the doctor by sight, or one of the store-managers. 563
His relations with them will consist in an exchanged greeting as he passes them on the road. With the postmaster in Neiafu his relations will be freer. This white man has lived in Tonga for many years, speaks Tongan fluently, acts also as customs-officer, deputy-treasurer, occasionally as acting-governor for Vava'u. He is friendly with the Tongans and they are friendly with him.

Intermarriage between whites and Tongans in Neiafu 563
is rare, although, to judge by the number of half-castes that one meets, it has occurred frequently in the past. Reason for this rarity is that now most of the whites coming to Tonga bring their wives with them. Half-castes tend to marry into other half-caste families. The addition of white blood to Tongan ancestry seems to interest the villager little. A very few of the villagers are known to have had one or more white grand- or great-grandparents. The matter is unnoticed and is hardly worth a comment to the villager unless some enquiring white is seeking information. This intermarriage in the past has always been of white men with Tongan women. This fact, taken in conjunction with the numerical proportions of Tongans to whites in the Kingdom, may hold the key to an understanding of some of the factors of social change and stability noted in the following sections of this report.

Most of the contact between villager and whites today 177
is carried on by village men. This applies particularly to 609
Protestant men. Few if any of the Protestant women have 795
come into even the most formal of contacts with white men

no opportunity therefore, to obtain any close or intimate knowledge of any non-Tongan domestic economy, domestic morals, domestic manners, or domestic relations. What slight knowledge there may be on these topics among the village women is derived almost entirely from Convent schooling or gossip. From this viewpoint our own stay in the village might possibly have added something to the culture of the more observant or curious of the village women.

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[871]
[521]

[123]

ECONOMIC LIFE

CONTROL OF LAND

423

All land in Tonga is ultimately owned and controlled by the Crown. Functionally it is divided into three groups: Government estates, the estates of nobles, and the Royal estates (including those of the Queen and Crown Prince). Of the thirty-nine estates into which Vava'u is divided, seventeen are Government, sixteen are noble, five are Royal and one is the estate of the Crown Prince. Again in theory, each adult Tongan male above the age of sixteen years is entitled to an allotment of 8¼ acres of land from the Government estate for which he pays taxes at the rate of eight shillings per year. Land is not sold to anyone. Applications for the leasing of land are made to the Minister of Lands. Land from the Royal estate or from that of a noble may be acquired by lease and may be inherited in either the male or female line provided the rent of eight shillings per year continues to be paid.

[425]
[651]

[432]
[427]
[428]

Pangaimotu (the island of Pangai) is Royal estate. Within the limits of Pangai village, the residential sections are nearly all controlled by named households. The bush lands on the islands are divided into sections called *api uta*, more briefly *api* (see Fig. 1), which range in size from eight or nine to sixteen or twenty acres. Each of these bush *api* is leased for the usual rental of eight shillings. As long as the rental is paid, the lessee has full control of his *api* and full right to produce what he pleases thereon. Should the rent, however, be in arrears for three years in succession, the land may be allotted to another individual.

423
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244 262 often reserved for a feast-occasion. Expressions of satisfaction are heard on all sides as the guests neglect the commoner tubers and concentrate on the yams. To our taste the yam did not seem particularly delicate nor greatly different in flavour from other tubers. But it would have (123) been impolitic to inform our hosts of our real opinion in this matter.

244 There are some twenty-one different named yams that the villager may grow. At most he will plant no more than half this number depending upon his judgment as to which 244 221 are hardiest and most worm-resistant. The first yam-cuttings are planted in June, very early in the month or else at the time of the full moon. A second planting takes place in August and a third from September to December. July is considered a bad planting month because worms are more 244 likely to attack the shoots at this time. About one hundred yam-cuttings are planted in each large hill. After the cuttings have developed strong shoots, the hill is opened, the yams replanted, from four to five shoots in each separate hill. These small hills are again reopened and one shoot is finally planted in a separate hill. For each complete planting therefore, there are three minor plantings. Sticks are used as supports for the growing shoots. The yam-gardens are weeded and kept clear. Each hill will finally produce four or five yams. They are mature in from five to eight months' time. The June planting for example, will be ready in December if there has been adequate rain toward the end of (433) this period. One acre of land will grow about one thousand hills of yam. From four to six hundred hills is considered an adequate planting for the average household.

241 To give some idea of the size of the Pangai garden, the following figures were obtained for a small household of four persons. This household had planted about five hundred *manioke* (manioc) plants, one hundred hills of yam, eight hundred *taro* plants, sixty giant *taro* plants, forty banana trees in full bearing, together with small amounts of corn, melons and *kava* trees. Most of this was planted in August, 1938, when the family returned from a long visit to Tongatapu. On January, 1939, it was planned to plant a further three hundred *taro*

805 [213] calendar issued by the government printer. The only virtue of this calendar seems to lie in its possession, not in its use. Dated days are of no significance to the villager except to mark off one Sunday from another and this function is performed equally well or better by church-bell and pulpit-announcement.

212 [644] [793] So far we have been referring to the average villager. The village-overseer and the church-pastor make more use of reading and writing than the villager. For them these techniques are necessary for the study of government or church reports and notices, for the compilation in turn of their own reports. A few others in the village may also try to make effective use of their reading ability. 212 875 829 Thus a village school teacher, home in Pangai on vacation, had developed an interest in world affairs through a chance gift of a copy of *Reader's Digest.* Even the simplified English of this magazine was much too difficult for him, and it is doubtful whether he will long keep up his study of the magazine. [554] [123] One suspects that his initial and only interest in it was based on the prestige gained among his fellow-villagers by his apparent ability to discuss with us "in English" obscure subjects whose text was so obviously derived from what to the ordinary villager was the very mysterious page of an English-language magazine.

212 [451] Another villager interested in the use of his skills is Biukala. He carries on a very simplified book-keeping to provide a rough check on the sales of his garden-produce. He is an assiduous student of Biblical commentaries which he borrows from the missionaries in Neiafu. He writes an occasional letter to his aged mother in Tongatapu. 212 177 829 He is very keenly interested in keeping alive these skills which he has observed white men such as church-missionaries using so frequently. Here the incentive to use reading and writing techniques of white culture is far stronger than for the average villager. But this comes about from the fact that Biukala, for obscure personality reasons, is much more interested in adapting himself to the white man's culture than he is to the folk-culture of the village. This is particularly evident when Biukala talks of the future he has planned for his son, now a child of barely two years. For this child he talks of professions such as engineering,

boy was whipped so severely that he ran away from Bovai's 855 861
household and sought refuge in the house of a relative.

Within the children's groups themselves, there appears 857
to be a well-defined beating-order based on seniority, 861
independent of sex and almost independent of measures of
physical strength. A younger child takes the whippings of 561
those older and in turn passes them on to those younger
still. This principle of seniority runs also through child-labour.
The rule seems to be: never do any task demanded
by an elder unless it is impossible to find someone younger
whom you can force to do the job instead. Thus, if our
houseboy, aged ten, was about, our two husky housegirls,
aged seventeen, spent much of their time and energy finding
tasks for him to carry out. They would rant and complain
and occasionally beat the boy until the job was done to their
satisfaction. If on the other hand, the girls were absent 857
and the houseboy with a friend was about, then it was the 561
houseboy's turn to recline upon a kerosene tin and order his
young friend to light the fire or to fetch water. The friend
did as he was directed, on pain apparently of losing the
immediate favour of the older boy. We had, on numerous 857
occasions, opportunity to suggest to all concerned that a job
to be done could often be done easier and quicker by the 561
older youth rather than by an ordered-about younger person. 123
The suggestion was obviously incomprehensible to our
helpers. They would stop to agree with us. But immediately
after the commands and orders would be resumed. The 857
principle of seniority is generally well-defined in Tongan
society at large. It is to be expected therefore, that it should 561
in some measure be made the basis for the organization of
interpersonal relations in the society of children and youths.

Children of all ages from infancy onward wear clothes. 855
The minimum clothing for a young boy is pants with or without 291
a shirt. Older boys generally wear a shirt or vest
together with pants or *vala*, the latter always being worn (292)
for church or festive occasions. Girls always wear dresses.
In swimming, boys would go naked whereas girls invariably (481)
swam in their clothes.

PUBERTY

There is no ceremony connected with a girl's first 881
menstruation. She tells her mother who in turn explains

moment of oratory itself. Should the assignment have been 000
to conduct service in a village other than Pangai, then the 794
conclusion to all this labour of love is a feast given 574
immediately after the service by one of the chief supporters 554
of this church. The lay-preacher is the guest of honour.
His is the first *kava* cup called, he is chosen to say the Grace.
Then, after the eating of much good food, the lay-preacher
begins his long walk back to Pangai accompanied by the
thanks of his hosts for the sermon and a material symbol
of these thanks in the form of a large root of *kava* or a good-
sized basket of pork and other oven-baked foods.

The rewards and responsibilities of being a lay-preacher 794
are such as to appeal only to a few of the more sober and 554
older village men. Biukala, after passing a three-day written
and oral examination, found himself during our stay in the
village the proud possessor of his preacher's certificate. He [123] ●
is a very serious and sober, hard-working Tongan, but he
beamed under our congratulations and was very obviously
pleased with all the new possibilities of service and increased
village prestige that now opened before his wide-glancing
eyes. Only one major worry now filled his mind. He had 794
neither dark suit nor black shoes properly to costume himself 554
in answer to a preaching call. He was not particular, of 292
course, about the fit of either suit or shoes. As long as his 177
feet could be squeezed into shoes, no matter what the agony,
for a two-hour service, as long as he could make pretense of
slipping into the suit, no matter whether the coat could be
buttoned or the trousers reached to his shins only, he would
be attired in clothing favoured by white missionaries. For
Biukala, such clothes, though hot to wear, a hindrance to
free movement and hard to get, definitely represented a
symbol both of his newly-gained village-status and of a
wishful longing to identify himself with the white man's
way of life. Later on, we were grateful to be able to help
Biukala grasp firmly this symbol of his desiring.

CONCLUSION 177

The culture of the village as it functions today is a 178
well-integrated blend of the old and the new. How much of
it is aboriginal Tongan culture and how much of it is derived
from western European culture is hard to say with any

14: Thomson

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[For information on Thomson's role in Tonga, and for further information on his relations with the Tongans, see Category 645.]

794 myself from the others by sheltering behind the promise
I had given him not to contribute to any plate but
his. Their method was ingenious. The tout took care to
approach his victim in the evening when the house was
full of people. He would remark that Pita (a neighbour)
had promised two dollars this year, and would hint that
he scarcely supposes the victim will allow himself to be
outdone by such a one as Pita! The unfortunate man,
constrained by false shame, promises more than he can
afford; the amount is noted in a book, and has to be
found by importunity or petty larceny.

As the day drew nearer we were set upon by numbers
794 of the faithful, including our convict groom, who came to
123 borrow money to give to the Church. For these I had
but one form of argument — forcible if not altogether
reverent. They were, I said, proposing to give my
money to the Church — not their own; and as it was
extremely unlikely that they would ever pay me back,
and therefore either I or the Church would have to go
without the money, I thought the Church was better able
794 to afford the loss. Cynics among the traders even went
the length of declaring that the *fakamisonali* is always
accompanied by the disappearance of their ducks and
fowls, which may generally be found in the yard of a
rival trader living at a distance, who has innocently
bought them from a native bent upon contributing his
mite to the Church. This is no doubt a slander.

796 On the appointed day the whole population donned
[292] their gala trousers and petticoats, and streamed to the
church, whose big bell was being tolled by relays of
urchins. The pews were crowded: there was not even

609 Cordelia's visit. Tongans never admit coincidences. I
648 was asked for explanations and gave them, but my questioners
shook their heads gravely, and spread it abroad that
the gunboat had been sent by the High Commissioner
to prepare his way, but that for his own purposes "the
expounder" had chosen to shroud the truth in mystery.
Since this self-deception was more likely to do good
than harm, I made no effort to belittle the importance of
[643] Sir John Thurston's visit. The king received him with
effusion, and had evidently lost all uneasiness about the
ulterior objects of his coming. An amendment to the
treaty between Great Britain and Tonga was to be signed,
and I found myself in the odd position of representing a
foreign Government in negotiations with my chief—being,
in fact, at the same time an officer in the English and the
609 Tongan services. The presence of the Cordelia had a
645 curious effect upon my relations with the king and my
123 colleagues. They seemed suddenly to remember that I
was not one of them, and the old confidence between us
gave place to an almost imperceptible constraint, which,
as soon as the ship sailed, disappeared as suddenly as it
000 had come. To Sir John Thurston, who remembered the
anxieties that had beset him a year before, the visit must
have brought that satisfaction which is the reward of
every one who, having chosen one of two opposite courses,
finds that it was the wisest as well as the most courageous.

Tongan chief, stripped of his wealth and influence by his 186
new-fangled communism, secretly envies the authority 829
which his Fijian neighbour has been too wise to surrender: 648
the Fijian chief, though full of contempt for the
leaning towards foreign customs that has reduced the
Tongan chief to poverty, tries hard to imitate his air of
superior refinement. The Tongan chief likes nothing
better than to be entertained by a great chief in Fiji, and
feel again vicariously the glories of his lost estate, and eat
taro, and hear the murmur of running water, both luxuries
unknown in his own dry country. The Fijian loves to
have such guests, and show them off to his neighbours as
proof of the wide range of his influence. So each reflects
glory on the other. They are ridiculously shy of one
another. While Tukuaho was paying a visit to me in 186
Auckland, Ratu Lala, the Tui Thakau, came from Fiji 829
to make a tour through the Australian colonies. The 648
two chiefs, on the ground of their relationship through 123
a common ancestress, were very anxious to meet, and
they both besought me to bring about the introduction.
Tukuaho spoke excellent Fijian, and Ratu Lala is no [191]
less fluent in Tongan, but to my astonishment I found
that I was expected to act as interpreter between them.
Their conversation was complimentary and formal.
Tukuaho reminded his Fijian relative of the romantic
legend that connected their families. Ratu Lala pressed
him to make the bond closer by paying him a visit.
They were both so painfully shy that even this stilted
conversation would have been impossible unless I had
stayed to interpret their languages to each other.

I have spoken already of the music and poetry of the 533
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[For details of the daily routine activities of the author acting in the role as missionary among the Tongan people, see Category 797.]

● 123
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[For information on the author's travels as a missionary among the various islands of the Tongan group, see Category 797.]

361 Beyond these stands the *Bou valu*, a large open
[344] building devoted to the reception of strangers, and
to the transaction of all public business. Around
[351] this place there is a *malae*, or grassy sward, of
several acres in extent, fringed by cocoa-nut and
[764] cedar trees; the prospect being bounded on the
right by the hill of Neiafu, at the foot of which lies
a burial-ground, where the remains of two missionaries
have been interred, near the tombs of the
leading native families.

Proceeding a little further inland, the Chapel is
361 reached. That which stood there in 1846, measured
368 one hundred feet by forty-five. Turning
797 from thence to the left by a road leading towards
[491] Talau, the Mission premises were soon reached.
These consisted, at the time specified, of a large
printing-office, containing three presses with all
their necessary appurtenances; and beyond that
building lay the dwellings required for three Mission
families. These were erected upon separate
[417] *abis*, or allotments of gardening land, the whole
being surrounded by a neat native fence, with a
[245] magnificent row of large orange-trees lining the
entire frontage to the road.

797 After the bustle of landing our stores was over,
the active duties of Mission life immediately commenced.
Among these, the acquirement of the
797 language was felt to be the thing of greatest importance.
122 We had not been idle in this matter
since reaching the islands: but still, in the prevailing
religious excitement, and the consequent
increase of labour devolving upon our senior colleague,
Mr. Turner, we saw abundant reason for
prosecuting its study with unsparing diligence.
● [123] We longed to take an active part in the religious

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

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instruction of the people in their own tongue. To this end we resolved to acquire it entirely from the natives. And being convinced that mingling a great deal with the native children, would be the speediest way of obtaining a knowledge of the simple and ordinary modes of expression, with a clear pronunciation, I accordingly went very much amongst them. At the same time, I gladly embraced the kind aid offered by Kalisitiane Tutoe, the chief judge of Vavau, who devoted two hours every day to my instruction in the language. The result was, that by the end of three weeks, I had composed a short sermon in Tonguese, and on the following Lord's-day conducted the service, with the exception of the extempore prayers, at a village called Makave. On the way thither I was accompanied by a few of our best Christian teachers. Among these were Jone Fifita, and Jone Faubula. When about a quarter of a mile from the village of Makave, Fifita stayed our further progress by asking whether we might not pause and pray that God would assist His Missionary servant, and also bless the word about to be delivered. The proposal was no sooner made than acted upon. We immediately knelt down by the roadside under the shade of the overhanging trees, while Fifita poured forth a beautiful and powerful prayer. He prayed that the Lord would "soften His servant's mouth,"—meaning that He would enable him to speak with ease and correctness; and also that He would open the hearts of the people to receive the truth spoken. After such a preparation, it seems hardly necessary to say that the service was a time of blessing, as well as of mental excitement and trial. It was a truly small, and no doubt a feeble beginning; but

797 from that Sabbath-day, and during nine years afterwards,
123 the writer never failed to preach to the Tonguese
122 the "unsearchable riches of Christ" in their
own tongue, with the exception of two or three
occasions when laid aside by sickness. Our first
extempore attempt was made at Leimatua, at the
watch-night service at the close of the same year;
and we never had occasion after that time to *read*
any of our discourses to the natives. We do not
mention these things by way of boasting, but as an
encouragement to all young Missionaries, who may
be tempted to be disheartened while learning a
foreign tongue. Our advice would be to all such,
to learn from the natives and not from Europeans,
and to begin by speaking with and amongst the children,
while careful at the same time to secure the
aid of some native of known ability to guide and
correct their studies.

157 Jone Fifita was a man of no ordinary character
and ability. As a public speaker, he was possessed
159 of many of the gifts and graces of a polished, but
yet natural orator. His religious character likewise
was bright and consistent in the highest degree. In
[142] person he was considered much below the Tonguese
standard of height and physical development.
Nevertheless, he had been noted, in heathen times,
as a great champion in all pugilistic and gymnastic
feats. He was also an oracle in traditional lore,
and in his knowledge of the *mekes* and *ulas*, or
songs and dances of the country. After his conversion,
157 his natural powers were sacredly devoted to
159 the cause of Christ. He loved the society of the
797 Missionaries, and he profited more than most of his
companions under their instructions. He soon acquired
large and correct views of Scripture truth;

797 [159] the whole of the eastern part of the island was thrown open to the free preaching of the Missionary, to the residence of native teachers, and for the establishment of Christian schools.

It was at first thought that the example of the Mua people would lead to the speedy overthrow of heathenism in its remaining strongholds of Bea and Houma: such, however, was not to be our happiness. Mr. Webb and Mr. Amos redoubled their visits to Bea, and had frequent interviews with the leading chiefs, Maafu and Lavaka. But although these men were still heathens, they were under the influence and evil guidance of the French priests, who dissuaded them from granting any permission to introduce Protestant preaching.

797 123 Houma also received additional attention from myself. I frequently visited its chief Vaea, and particularly pressed upon his notice the example of Tugi. His invariable reply was "Tugi has done well; but he is too great a chief for me to follow." Vaea always received my visits with courtesy, and would patiently listen to any conversation on religious subjects. He would not, however, grant permission for public preaching in his town, nor would he tolerate the residence of any Christian among his people. Still, jealous as he was, we were never molested while visiting the people at their own houses for religious conversation. Many of the heathen were also in the habit of attending some of the more popular feasts, held in connexion with the public examination of schools, in various places, on which occasions they must have received a considerable amount of religious information, while mingling with Christian relations and friends.

797 Not long after the heavy shock given to hea-

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

usual, their own lights. What, however, was their 797
great dismay, on perceiving, as they supposed, that 346
the interior of the building was on fire! They 781
raised an alarm, and, joined by several other persons, rushed into the building; which, strange to say, was found without any indications whatever of light or fire. Instant and vigorous search was made, but nothing could be discovered to explain the remarkable appearance. On several subsequent occasions, a similar light was witnessed, by many respectable and credible persons. After the fullest inquiry, and especially after the testimony borne by Samuel Moala, I could have no doubt of the reality of the phenomenon itself, however it may be explained or understood. It is most likely that it had a natural explanation; but, we need scarcely say, that the sight was regarded, by the natives themselves, as supernatural in the highest degree. We suggested that it might have been the clever freak of some one intending to alarm the coming worshippers, or that a number of fire-flies might have got into the building; but, those who had seen the appearance, scouted all such explanations as insufficient.

In this very place, the writer of these pages was 797
preaching, on the Sabbath morning on which 123
Hafoka crossed the threshold, knelt down in the
humblest attitude of prayer, and breathed out his 159
desires to God; a heathen no longer, but a humble disciple of the Lord Jesus Christ. That sight was worth a life-time of Missionary toil and sacrifice. Many examples of the triumph of Gospel truth over heathen unbelief and prejudice, were afforded to all the Missionaries who have laboured in the Friendly Islands, and to ourselves among the number; but,

this case was surrounded with peculiar interest, 797
and its ultimate results were uncommon. Imme- 123
diately at the close of the service, I went to the 159
house of Moala, where the following conversation ensued between myself and the new believer :—

"Hafoka, I am very glad to see you here, and to find that you have resolved to abandon heathenism. But, tell me all about it. How is it you have come to this place ?"

"It is true," replied he, "here I am; and I have come to be a Christian. I have been a wicked man. I have been a persecutor. But, now I have bowed the knee to Jehovah. I have forsaken all I possessed, so that I may serve God. I had many friends in Houma. My wife and children, lands and property, are there; but, I have forsaken them all, that I might come and worship God here!"

"Well," continued I, "what led you to leave 797
them, and so suddenly too ?" 123

"I can scarcely tell you," was his reply. "For 787
weeks I heard, as it were, a voice within me, say- 159
ing, 'Hafoka, rise, and leave this place; go to the Christians.' Day and night that voice seemed to speak to me: I became very uneasy and unhappy. At length, I could bear it no longer; and resolved, if possible, to know what it meant. And, now, I understand it all: it was the voice of God; and I am sure that He has led me amongst this people. Once I was dead, but now I am a living man. I cannot return to heathenism; and, if my wife and children will not come to me, then I am even content to lose all for the sake of Jesus Christ."

In the mean time, the absence of Hafoka from 797
Houma, and then the discovered fact of his con- 159
version, created a great commotion among the

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

797 relations, and former companions, forsook Houma,
159 and settled with Hafoka upon this new locality in
Fatai. Temporary houses were built, in one of
[794] which I preached the first sermon to a congregation
of eighteen persons, eight of whom were new
converts from heathenism. Before a year had
gone by, there were at Fatai thirty-five church
members, a good chapel, a school, and a resident
native teacher. There was also a fair prospect of a
regular accession of converts from Houma.

797 While this was going on, Vaea, the old Houman
chief, died. I visited him during his last sickness,
123 and was with him only a few hours before his
763 decease. I talked to him very faithfully about his
soul. As on many former occasions, so now, he
expressed his thanks for my visit and advice; but
he intimated his unalterable resolve to die as he
had lived, a heathen. But, notwithstanding this,
he called his children and friends around him,
after I had left, for the purpose of urging them to
live at peace with their Christian neighbours; and
he even advised them all to become Christians
themselves. Shortly after he had done this he
expired.

565 Another chief was installed with barbaric
honours, who assumed the title of his predecessor
without any consultation of the wishes of
the king. This new ruler became an easy tool in
[662] the hands of designing men, both in Houma and
Bea, in bidding defiance to the government of the
[669] king, and in the attempt which was finally made
to overthrow his power altogether.

798 Early in the year 1851, the fortress of Bea was
669 put into a state of warlike defence, without the
712 slightest provocation from any quarter. For
721

24: Rugby-Pratt M-3 (1922) 1922 OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau

A *KAVA* CEREMONY IN TONGA.

By the Rev. M. A. Rugby Pratt.

114 [The writings of W. H. R. Rivers and others have raised the *kava* complex to a position of theoretical importance in the study of Polynesian ethnology. The following very detailed account of the ceremonial preparation of *kava* in the
276 Tongan Group is, therefore, of great interest. Such a ceremonial as is here recorded is now rare in those islands, and many members of modern *kava* parties
574 scarcely know the right positions to take up, much less the details of the
[178] ceremonial.—Editor.]

THE ceremonial way of making *kava* is called ***milolua***, a word that is also employed to describe one method of straining, or
122 "clearing" the *kava*. The fact that on two occasions the full ceremony was carried through for my benefit was due to the circum-
123 stance that I was the guest of the Rev. J. B. Watkin, who, for fifty-six years has laboured as a missionary in the Friendly Islands, and won the fullest confidence and love of the Tongan people.

123 On the morning of Thursday, August 17th, 1922, accompanied by
[114] my host and the Native minister from Neiafu, the Rev. Paula Fonua, I set out from Neiafu, the capital of Vavau, for the village of Haalaufuli, some eight miles distant. Some two miles before reaching Haalaufuli we were met by a small cavalcade, and the horsemen escorted us to the village. Here we were received at the Mission House, and, having seated ourselves on the *lotoa*, or verandah, a dried *kava* root was laid at our feet, and a small offering of food was presented to us for some visitors who had followed us from Neiafu. This over, Mr. Watkin and I stepped into the Mission House and sat at a table laden with roast chicken, boiled chicken, curried chicken, fried chicken, roast sucking pig, and a profusion of fruit, vegetables and other good things. The only detail that I need mention is that we began the meal with a drink of hot coconut milk, that was served in cups made from folded banana leaf, a beverage that is heated in the *umu*, or oven of hot stones, and which, when poured into the green banana-leaf cup extracts from the cup some essential properties which produce a delightfully cool sensation in mouth and throat.

The meal over, we again repaired to the *lotoa* to be garlanded with exquisitely made floral *sisi*, to hear words of welcome, to hold a levee and to receive the customary gifts. There were two presentations. The first was a *koloa*, or presentation of goods, which included native mats, *tapa* cloth, coconut oil, necklaces made of *hano*, *lopa* and

[p. 198]

sialemohemohe seeds, and also a few fans. The second was a *kaitunu* or 123 food presentation. Included in this latter were six great green *kava* roots, nine roast pigs borne on *pola* or litters, scores of baskets of fruit and vegetables, bunches of the prized *tookava* or chiefly coconuts, many fowls, and a quantity of *ai* nuts, not unlike almonds, that were both in baskets and threaded on the stripped ribs of fronds of the coconut palm. The gifts in the second presentation were arranged in orderly rows on the *malae*. These were duly counted by representatives of the 276 villages, who seated themselves behind the company and announced 574 the number of each sort of gift. The food was then removed from the *malae*, or assembly ground, saving that five roast pigs were placed 123 in order in front of the *lotoa*. Behind these pigs a party of natives [516] seated themselves, with crossed legs, beneath the shade of an *ovava* tree, the sacred tree of Tonga. The chiefs and some distinguished folks were ranged at the feet of Mr. Watkin and myself on the *lotoa*, we two alone being accommodated with chairs.

In the centre of the group, on the *malae*, a woven mat was placed 276 over a plaited coconut *pola*. On either side of the mat sat two men, 574 called *hagai kava*, facing the *lotoa*. Beside each was a large, smooth [412] volcanic stone, and in the right hand of each a smaller volcanic stone. These stones, valuable for their hardness, are brought from the island of Tofua. A green *kava* root was produced, the upper shoots, resembling bamboo sticks, were discarded, and the root itself was scraped and rubbed clean, and then passed to the *hagai kava*. Ordinarily the dried and not the green *kava* root is used for making the beverage. Next a native advanced bearing a *kumete kava* or *kava* bowl, set on four short legs. Before being put in position between the *hagai kava*, it was turned to the guests of honour, with the legs and bottom facing us. The *hagai kava* quickly pounded the root with the hard volcanic stones, the crushed pieces falling upon the mat. When the crushing was complete the broken fragments were put in the *kumete kava*, behind which a handsome woman, the *gauhi kava*, or *kava* maker, now seated herself. In more ancient days the practice was 276 for the crushed root to be distributed amongst the young folks who 574 possessed the whitest teeth, and who, when they had masticated the 178 chips, discharged the contents of their mouths on to a plantain leaf, whence it was transferred to the *kava* bowl. This unhygienic method is now discarded.

The *gauhi kava* with graceful sweeps and curves of arms and hands 276 and body, all movements of symbolic import, began to mix the root 574 and to extract its essence, the while the two *hagai kava* simultaneously poured water slowly from two buckets into the bowl. When she had [415] made the liquor of sufficient strength, a strainer, which was simply a bunch of fibre or *fau*, was brought and spread by the *gauhi kava* on top

276 exhausted. The *gaahi kava* wiped the bowl clean with her bunch of
574 *fau* and again brought her arms to rest on either side edge of the
bowl. A member of the party now advanced, lifted the bowl, and
holding its inner surface towards the guests of honour, slapped it on
● [123] its under side and bore it from the scene. The whole *kava* ceremony
thus described in detail, occupied less than forty minutes, and was
followed by a dinner from the food that had ceremonially been
presented to me.

533 After the dinner the whole company marched in procession to the
beautiful Free Church building. Here some seven choirs, drawn from
the five villages of Haalaufuli, Hologa, Houma, Taanea and Magia
united in a *hiva*, or song service. Fourteen anthems were rendered,
two by each choir. The singing was a revelation, and was without any
instrumental accompaniment, and without the aid of the printed score,
or any printed word. Most of the selections were by native composers,
and these showed considerable merit. Two selections, however, were
quite familiar. They were the "Hallelujah Chorus" from Handel's
"Messiah," and "Glorious is Thy Name."

622 One of the chiefs present at these celebrations was a Native doctor,
Mr. George Kubu, who is uncle of Queen Salote, and a brother of the
123 late Queen Lavinia, of Tonga. Two days later I visited his village
122 of Hologa, and he, having noted my interest in the *milolua*, or *kava*
ceremony, had arranged for its repetition in my honour. At this
276 second ceremony, which was preceded by the singing of an ode of
574 welcome, that had been originally composed and sung to welcome to
533 Hologa, the late King George Tubou II. several years ago, the whole
party was seated under a *balebale nofoaga*, or shelter, that had been
276 temporarily erected on the *malae*. The ceremony was the introduction
574 to a feast, and it differed from the previous *milolua* in the fact that the
kava maker was a man, and the cup-bearers were women. On
[123] numerous occasions I saw *kava* made with as little ceremony and as
much haste as possible, and count myself favoured to have witnessed
a ceremony that few are now privileged to see.

THE TU'I KANOKUPOLU'S KAVA-RING.

276 I have been an onlooker on several occasions when the
574 present Queen, Her Majesty Queen Salote Tupou, has drunk
643 *kava* with her chiefs, including that of her installation as
123
115 queen, and am, moreover, greatly indebted to Ata, the chief
whose duty it is to see that the ritual is properly carried
643 out, for information he has given me. The Tu'i Kanokupolu
613 is the head of the Ha'a Ngata, the House of Ngata, and
565 in the full gathering are chiefs of the Ha'a Ngata, the Ha'a
554 Havea, an offshoot of the Ha'a Ngata, the Ha'a Latuhifo, who are of the blood of the Tu'i Tonga, the Ha'a Vaea, which is called a representative name, *hingoa fakafofonga*, of the Tu'i Ha'a-takalaua, and whose chief is Luani. There was a Tu'i Ha'a-takalaua named Vaea, and this house is perhaps descended from him. There are also two houses which are junior branches of the Ha'a Ngata, the Ha'a Ma'afu, and the Ha'a Ngata tupu, derivative Ha'a Ngata. This latter is comparatively recent, and its prominence dates from the Finau of Mariner's account. Finau, whom Mariner wrongly regards as the king of the group, was
613 the head of this junior branch. It is difficult to give the word *ha'a* precision of meaning as tribe, clan, or house.
[575] Besides its application to the noble houses it is applied to other associations of people joined together by community of interest, blood, or occupation. However, its application to the great noble houses, each including several titled chiefs, is well understood.

276 The following diagram illustrates the structure of the
574 *kava*-ring, and the principal positions in it—
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643
644
613
565

553 602 [123] As indicated clearly in the table, most children are named by the father or by one of his relations; that is 15 out of 17 first born children, 11 out of 13 second born children and 44 out of 66 third born children or the subsequent ones. It is especially noted that the first born children were named by the paternal relations except for two who were named by the Mormon priest and by me. The maternal relations do not play a part in name giving until the third child is born. Among these 17 households, five couples are in uxorilocal and two couples in neolocal residence. As regards these seven nuclear families, two first born children were named by the father, one by the girl who is the father's mother's brother's daughter in Nukuleka, three by one of the paternal relations in another village and one by me. Although all five couples in uxorilocal residence live side by side or very near to the wife's family with whom they are in close contact in their daily life, the kinsmen of the father in another village named the baby. If they are too far away, say in Ha'apai or Vava'u, to be asked, the father himself may name the child, or sometimes an unrelated person, such as myself, may be asked.

553 604 602 It is common that the father gives the name to the third and subsequent children. Yet five of them were named by those to whom the children were not clearly related. 21 children, the largest number in the total, were given the name by the father's sister. Her role is quite eminent in the case of first and second children. Including the father's father's sister and the father's sister's sons and daughters who may be identified with the father's sister because they, as well as the *mehikitanga*, are of higher rank than the baby, they name one third of the first born and a half of the second born children. This evidenced the villager's statement that the father's sister in general gives the name to the baby.

553 602 [604] On the other hand, the maternal relations, particularly the mother's brother, have only a small role in name giving. But in uxorilocal residence, they often play a considerable part for second and subsequent babies. The following are two examples, of 3 with seven children, and of 18 with nine children.

553 602 604

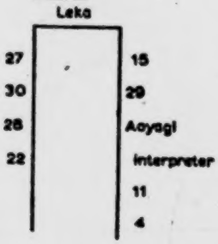
Household No.	Order of birth	Sex	Name Giver
3	1	f.	fa's mo.
	2	m.	fa's bro.
	3	f.	mo's mo's sis.
	4	f.	fa's friend
	5	m.	fa.
	6	f.	mo's mo's mo's fa.
	7	f.	mo's bro.
18	1	f.	fa's sis.
	2	f.	mo.
	3	f.	mo.
	4	f.	mo's sis.
	5	m.	mo's bro's wife
	6	m.	fa's bro.
	7	f.	mo's sis.
	8	m.	mo.
	9	m.	mo.

6

This fact suggests partly that there is no system into which all the people 554
who were gathering at the circle recognised. 593

While I was staying there, I happened to be invited to a feast at the 602 276
end of the year given by the second son of Pualiki, at which most of the 585
villagers were present. The following Fig. 6 is the table showing the 574
seat arrangement. People took their seats around the long *pola* (food 574
tray made of coconut leaves). Leka sat in the front of the *pola*, on either [123]
side of which the officers of the church sat down. The other people, I
was told, might sit down freely anywhere. Among the ten persons, namely 574
Leka and the church officers, 27 belongs to the Free Church of Tonga, 576 795
15 to the Mormons, 11 to the Catholic, and all the rest are the members 554

FIG. 6 Seat-ordering at a fakaafe



[123]

of the Free Wesleyan Church. The speech at this feast was given by 554 574
Leka, first, followed by 15 (*matapule* of the Queen), 1, Pualiki's wife, 30 576
(town officer) and 29. In spite of the fact that 11 is the elder brother of [537]
15 and 15's *ulu i famili*, his seat is lower in the seat order than 15's. It
is also incomprehensible why 11 who is a steward of the Catholic Church
took such a low seat compared with the *malanga* of the other churches who
were invited to the places of honour.(30) From 30 to 32 are all *malanga* [561]
of the Free Wesleyan Church who sat in order of the age. Whereas 29
is young, he is highly respected by people as a steward of the Free
Wesleyan Church and always occupies a seat next to Leka in the meeting
of church members.(31) In short, the internal rank of the villagers based 574
on the kinship structure was not reflected in the feast at all, but the 554
rank in the church such as *malanga* and *faifekau* was highly esteemed, 621
and one's age or administrative or honourable status such as town officer 794
or *matapule* were considered among those *malanga* and *faifefau*.(32) It is 56 [796]
easy to see that the *malanga* of the church took the places of honour
because this feast which was given as a church function was dedicated to
God. Nevertheless, this was the only occasion in which an outsider could
know the rank of the villagers.

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30. Professor Newell suggested to me that the antagonism between Catholics and Protestants may explain this in part. [798]
31. For instance, in *fakaafe* hosted by no. 28 on the day of Christmas nos. 6 (Leka), 5 and 30 (town officer) seated along one side of the *pola* in this order. On the other side of it no. 29 seated facing No. 6.
32. For example, in *fono*, village council, the villagers gather to sit choosing any place around the town officer who conveys the Government instruction. [623]

sponsorship, wherever I lived, since land is not freely 114
available in Tonga. There seemed little point in avoiding 121
being associated with someone merely because he was a 122
government official, particularly since I would be associ-
ated with the government, anyway, through my research in
education. I therefore accepted his gracious offer, but
declined the further invitation extended both by him and
his wife that I live as a member of their household.
Instead, we agreed that I would live in a fale (a 9 x 16 [312]
foot coconut-thatched 'house') that I would have built
for me on land at the back of their house. I would do my
own cooking in my fale, but had free access to their house
and use of the indoor plumbing facilities there. While
the fale was being built and outfitted, a matter of a few
weeks, I lived in a boarding house in Nuku'alofa and
commuted daily to Motulahi. I moved in to my fale in 114
mid-September and that was my base for the next eight
months, until I left Tonga. In all, I was in Tonga for [101]
ten months, from mid-July 1969 through mid-May 1970.
During this period I made two trips of a few days each in
Tongan waters and spent two weeks in Fiji. Except for [101]
these three side-trips, my research was conducted on
Tongatapu.

After I came to live in Motulahi my field methods 123
were based on participating as much as I was able in the

activities of the people of the village. This increased as I acquired social skills and facility in using the language. As much as possible, I tried to avoid being treated as a person of high status, for I feared this would exclude me from much of the life of ordinary villagers and from participating in what Goffman (1959) has called "the back region". To give a simple example, on one occasion, at a major feast given by the people on whose land I was living, I declined to take a place among the guests and insisted on sitting at the side with members of the family. Thus I ate later, together with those who had prepared the feast, and so was able to stay on to see what happens after the guests are gone (for it is a violation of etiquette for a guest not to leave when the feast is over). At other feasts, by working together with those who prepared the feast, I was able to observe that part of the proceedings. These are areas of behavior that are normally hidden from most *pālangis* ('Europeans'), for they usually participate only as guests at Tongan feasts. In order further to maximize my acceptability as a person to be treated informally, I avoided contacts with the *pālangi* community and the Tongan elites in Nuku'alofa. I was also cautious about entering into relationships whose implications and commitments might involve more than I could handle. Thus, I declined the suggestion that I accept the formal bestowal of a Tongan name, feeling that this might associate me in ways I could not foresee with whichever chief would confer the name upon me. And it was only over a period of some time that I came to participate in quasi-kinship relationships with people in the village. As much as possible, I tried to avoid being identified exclusively with particular sections or groups. Thus at first I attended church services in each of the local congregations in turn. Eventually, I settled into a pattern of attending four of them in rotation, explaining that the denomination to which I belonged at home did not have a church in Tonga. I also participated in quasi-kinship relationships with members of four different kin-groups (f̄amili) in the village, and thereby gained some experience of the activities and obligations of kin-group membership without being solely affiliated with a particular group. 123

My participation in local activities was to some extent shaped by my sex (female), age (twenty-seven), and marital status (single). For example, it would not have been proper for me to accompany the men in their agricultural activities without other women being present, and I never did so (although from time to time I went to the bush together with other women). This meant that some aspects of this major sphere of village life were beyond my investigation. I also felt that there was some [114] awkwardness in my joining men in their kava-drinking, despite their entirely proper invitations that I do so, 123 for I was aware that their normal discussions were set aside while I was there. I therefore participated less than I might have in this area of activity. I also could not participate freely in the women's talk of matters relating to sex and reproduction, because of my status as an unmarried woman. [574] On the other hand, the fact of my being a woman made it easy for me to adopt the practice of dropping by at people's homes and casually sitting around while members of the household went on with their activities, for this is something that Tongan women do all the time. My relative youth also made it reasonable and not too undignified for me to spend time playing with the children, which I found very comforting when I felt lonely, and to join in many of the activities of the young adults.

125 Besides observation and participation, much of my village data was gathered in the course of a detailed house-to-house survey that I began after I had been in Motulahi for three months. In the course of the survey I was able to collect extensive biographical data for almost every individual in the village, filling in many gaps in my information about the people and using the survey questions as a springboard for discussion of other matters.

50: Pulu I-5 (no date) 1973 OU9 Tonga OU9

ALTERNATIVE MEANINGS FOR TONGAN PLACE NAMES

There is little doubt that Mr Gifford's Tongan "scholars" did their best, but
103 the two Tongan men he relied on were chiefs, and chiefs were seldom trusted with
114 chronicles which were often associated with place names. This knowledge was
[565 trusted to spokesmen, and theirs was the task of knowing place names which
[463] perserved for posterity the unwritten historical events that had transpired at
[538] those places. The European Tongan scholars, too, could not have been sufficiently versed in Tongan oral traditions and histories to be able to go beyond a mere literal translation of the meanings of many place names.

The stories given later on in this paper will help to illustrate how important it
103 is to know oral traditions if one is to give correct meanings to place names. These
114 stories were well known to the old people of Ha'apai islands but now are known
538 to only a few. I learned of these stories at the many informal gatherings at my
[123] father's house where I was frequently called to serve kava. I treasured this
delightful task as I could sit inconspicuously behind the kava mixer and listen
[18 to the older people tell tales of former days. And so later, when I saw Gifford's
book and the erroneous meanings he had given to these places, I was shocked
[212] and grieved, for the present trend in Tonga is to accept anything in black and white as the absolute truth. Gifford's written words will be the accepted authority in the meanings of Tongan place names, and the true non-recorded meanings of some of these place names will pass on to forgotten history with the death of their tellers.

Going hand in hand with Gifford's lack of knowledge of historical events and
103 the deficiencies of the orthography[2] that he used, are the complicating factors of
114 the dynamics of language change at work. This gives some names a different
104 pronunciation from the original, and thus makes a difference in their meaning
194 unless one knows what they originally referred to.

196 Let us look at how this factor of language change has modified the following two words: /'auhangamea/ and /te'ekiu/ which Gifford listed as:

1. "Auhangamea. Panting to destroy things (auha, destroyed; nga, to pant; mea, things; perhaps referring to the heaving of the billows from the open ocean.) Strait between Tatafu and Uoleva island (H)."[3]
2. "Teekiu. Plover excrement (tee, excrement; kiu, plover Haradrius fulvus). Village on Tongatapu island (T). Also a track on Nomuka island (H). Also a tract near Hihifo, village on Foa island (H)."[4]

A correction to Gifford's spelling of Auhangamea to get its present pronunciation must be made with the addition of the glottal stop before the initial vowel. Gifford listed this word as having three morphemes: (auha + nga + mea) with their respective meanings as listed above. The original pronunciation of this word was /'auha + 'anga + me'a/ containing the morphemes /'auha/ "to suffer destruction" /'anga/ nominalising suffix, and /me'a/ "thing;" this was reduced to /'auhangamea/ by deletion of /'a/ from /'anga/ to form /nga/, and the elimination of /'/ from /me'a/ to form /mea/. The meaning thus formed from this compound word is "the place where things are destroyed, or lost."

[539] This name was not given to the strait because of "the heaving of the billows" as suggested by Gifford, nor was it given to commemorate a "trivial event," but to record orally an important event long forgotten by most except the few story tellers who still remember the legend of Sisimata'ila'aa whose carelessness caused the bag of curses to be opened while the boat of the Tu'i Tonga was crossing it.

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[2] In the orthography used by Gifford, there is representation of neither the glottal stop nor the vowel length, both of which are phonemes of high frequency.

[3] Gifford 1923:42.

[4] Ibid.:218.

571 tative is present and in which all interactions are structured in terms
565 of demeanor and deference.

276 This is of course not to say that questions of rank and status deter-
574 mination are not important in Tongan social behavior. Rather one
554 must try to establish the loci in social life where consistent principles
of rank and status determination are important, and not important,
554 instead of being satisfied with facile claims that *all* social interactions
565 in societies with elaborate ideologies of stratification are dominated by
121 concerns with rank. Kaeppler's reanalysis of Tongan principles of rank
is an important first step in attempting to distinguish the context
565 of Tongan society in which an interest in status determination is a
114 dominant element in the content of social relations (Kaeppler, 1971).
Although she begins by claiming that "all interpersonal relationships in the island kingdom are governed by principles of rank ..." (Kaeppler, 1971, p. 174), she recognizes in her critique of Aoyagi that the Tongan village is not a microcosm of Tongan society and that a consideration of the importance of rank must be viewed in terms of rank within kin groups and between social classes. In addition, Kaeppler demonstrates that village studies alone do not provide an adequate understanding of the multidimensional contexts in which concerns with status differentiation operate in Tongan social relations.

121 Focussing on interactions within the commoner class in Tonga,[3] this paper will approach the problem of examining the importance of rank in everyday life by defining two alternative sets of structural arrangements for every adult individual in Tongan society, which although interdependent, are governed by different concerns with status deter-

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121 [3] I lived in a community the noble of which was absent and thus observed
123 predominantly commoner social interactions. Much of the previous work on
565 Tonga is characterized by a fascination with the social and cultural life of
114 Tongan nobility, and there is a need to understand social arrangements at the
554 bottom of the class structure. In fact, it is possible to attribute the extreme 'permeation' view of ideologies of rank, which this paper attempts to modify, to the predominant attention that analysts have paid to rituals and customs of high status groups. For example, previous studies of highly stratified societies attribute intra-class or horizontal rankings to concepts originating in inter-class or vertical rankings (see Maquet, 1961; Goldman, 1970). There is no general justification for establishing a relationship of dominance of vertical over horizontal domains of ranking even though both domains may share some common features in the way that rank is expressed. In this paper, it is only necessary to demonstrate that kinship and class domains share some common principles of expressing rank without concern for the dominance of domains, a question that may appear and needs an answer only when one's perspective is from the top down in the analysis of a hierarchical system.

went ashore again with a party of Marines and such of the Cattle as 122
were weak, I remained there till sunset when every thing be[ing] settled
to my satisfaction I returned on board leaving the Command on
shore to M^{r} King. Tapa who was now become our fast friend and 648
seemed to be the only active man about us, had a house brought on
Mens shoulders a full quarter of a mile and placed by the one we 565
occupied, in order to be near us as well in the night as day.[1] 482

SATURDAY 3*rd.* Began to Water, cut wood, and make hay for the 122
catle. We at first began to cut wood abreast of the Ship it being there
in the greatest plenty and the most convenient to get on board, but [137]
it proved to be of the Mancheneel kind, yeilding a juice of a Milky
colour & of so corrosive a nature that it raised blisters on the Skin and
injured the eys of such of the workmen as it happened to fly upon;[2]
so that the wooding party were obliged to remove to the Cove where
wee took off Water and kept guard, where the natives furnished us
with other wood. M^{r} King and M^{r} Bailey began to observe equal [126]
altitudes of the sun in order to get the rate of the time keepers.[3] In the
evening before the natives retired from our post Tapah harangued 565
them for some time, we could only guess at the subject and judged he 537
was telling them how to behave to us, and encouraging them to
bring the produce of the island to market as a considerable quantity
was brought the next day.[4] 122

The Discoveries Small bower Cable parted, being cut in two by Sun. 4
the rocks, this occasioned us to look at ours which were found unhurt. Mon. 5

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[1] 'Omai is of great use to us, not only as an interpreter, but in keeping up a good under-
stand^{g} between us & the Natives, for they pay him great attention & listen to the stories [123]
he tells them about Britannee, which doubtless tends to keep up our consequence, too apt [177]
to be lessen'd by the familiarity of our intercourse; & from which we find out that the
Venereal disorder has been left among them; so it is, that wherever we go, we spread an [164]
incurable distemper which nothing we can do can ever recompence.'—King.

[2] 'As our people were cutting wood they cut some Manganeel trees, the Sap of which flew into some of their Eyes which made them nearly blind for several days, their heads swelling very much but they all happily recovered their sight again as well as before.'—
Bayly, 6 May. The machineel is a West Indian tree, with a caustic and poisonous milky [824]
sap. Anderson got the name of the Tongan tree as 'faitanoo'—*feta'anu.* It was common to India, China and Malaysia as well as Polynesia, and Linnaeus had already named it *Excoecaria agallocha*—a tree growing up to about 36 feet, with smooth oval leaves, and the white, adhesive, irritating latex that damaged and alarmed the sailors.—'[A B]otanist might discover some differences, but to appearance any[on]e not so well skilled would certainly have no doubt of its being [manch]ineel.'—Bligh AL, I, p. 230.

[3] 'The 2^{d} Went on shore to look for a convenient place to observe in where I met Cap^{t} Cook who objected to my going on shore with my Inst^{s} on account of the insufficiency of the Guard. 3^{d} Received an invitation from Cap^{t} Cook to dine with him, when he proposed my going on Shore with my Astronom^{l} Quad^{t} only but not to carry my observatory, or at most to have only one between M^{r} King & me.—at last we settled it so as not to carry any observ^{y} on Shore but to pack up the Quad^{ts} every evening & deposit them in an Indian house that Cap^{t} Cook had hired for his people.'—Bayly T.

[4] 'another Chief of some consequence whose name is Kapee who frequently made long harangues to the People and kept them in good order, he was call'd by our People Lord North.'—Edgar, 2 May.

of Captain Furneaux.[1] They brought each of them a hog and some 648
yams as a testimony of their friendship and I was not wanting on my 643
part in making them a sutable return.

At length about 2 PM we arrived at our intended Station, being a [431]
very snug place formed by the shore of Tongatabu on the SE and two 122
small islands on the East and NE: here we anchored in 10 fathom
Water over a bottom of owsey sand, distant from the shore one third
of a mile.[2] Soon after we had Anchored, I landed accompaned by 648
Omai and some of the Officers, we found the King waiting for us on
the beach, ready to conduct us to a small neat house, situated a little [643]
within the skirts of the woods with a fine large area before it; this [342]
house the Cheif told me was at my service during my stay and a
better situation we could not wish for. We had not been long in the
house before a pretty large circle of people were assembled before us
and seated on the Area. A root of the Cava plant was brought and [276]
laid down before the King, he ordered it to be split into pieces and
given to several people, men and women, to chew and a bowl of [574]
liquer was presently prepared. In the mean time a baked hog and
two baskets of baked yams were brought and afterwards divided into [264]
ten portions, each of these portions were given to certain people
present but how many each was intend[ed] for I could not tell, one
was sent to the Kings brother and one remained which I judged was
for himself as it was a choise bit. The liquor was next served out, but 648
the King seemed to give no directions about it;[3] the first cup was 643
brought to him, he ordered it to be give[n] to one who sat near him,
the second was brought him which he kept, the third was brought 276
me, I gave it to Omai for their manner of brewing had quenched my 574
thirst;[4] the rest was served out to different people by direction of the

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[1] We have no prior record of this friendship: the Tupou's are becoming rather confusing. Tupoulahi was the name of the last Tu'i Kanokupolu, and as Gifford writes (*Tongan Society*, p. 88), 'The frequent use of the name Tupou for the Tui Kanokupolu's relatives makes identification as difficult as with the Tui Tonga's relatives with whom the name Fatafehi was equally common'.

[2] The anchorage was in the harbour of Nuku'alofa, the present capital town of Tonga. Cook's description points to a spot in its eastern bight, almost two miles east of the existing pier. The 'shore of Tongatabu on the SE' was the arm of land, the northern side of the lagoon, which ends in the point called Holeva ('Observatory Point' on the engraved chart)—no doubt the 'uncultivated point' mentioned as 'our station', pp. 134–5 below—and the detached island Nukunuku. The small island to the east was 'Oneata, though it is not the only islet in that direction; that to the north-east was Pangaimotu ('Pangymaudoo' in Cook's paragraph below). This position is still recommended as the best for shelter and holding ground in the summer months, which is also the hurricane season; so the Tongans who directed Cook knew what they were doing, even though the month was June.

[3] Because he did not need to—except as Cook goes on to note his first direction as to a recipient—the ceremony being so much one of settled ritual. How strict the ritual was, at a formal kava-ceremony, and all its details, may be found from a study of the long description in Mariner, II, pp. 150–67.

[4] But, as Mariner points out, the Tongans were an exceedingly clean race, and only [123]

648 man who had the management of it. A Cup was carri'd to the Kings
643 Brother, with which and his victuals he retired, as did some others
also, and the reason was they could neither eat nor drink before the
276 King; but there were others of a much inferior rank who did both.[1]
574 Soon after the most of them retired, each carrying with them what
victuals he or she had not eat. It is necessary to observe that not one
648 4th part of the Company had either Victuals or drink and some had
643 one and not the other: those who had the Victuals I took to be of the
276 Kings household. The Servants who served out the Victuals and
Cava always delivered it out of their hand siting, not only to the
574 King but to every other person. And altho this was the first time of
644 our landing, and a great many people present who had never seen
264 us before yet no one was troublesome, but the greatest good order
was Observed throughout the whole. Before I went on board I was
648 shewed some pools or holes of fresh Water as they were pleased to
call it; the Water in one was indeed tolerable but it was some distance
Wed. 11 in land and but little of it. The next morning I went over to the
312 island of *Pangymaudoo*,[2] near which we lay, to look for Water being
told there was some there; I was conducted to a small Pool that was
tolerable and had it cleaned out and here it was we watered the
122 Ships. As I intended to make some stay here I got all the Cattle a
shore,[3] a party of Marines with the officer for a guard, set up the
observatory and Mr King resided a shore to attend the observations
and superintend the several works carrying on there, for I had the

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[648] young persons who had clean mouths and good teeth were allowed to take part in the
[643] chewing. This was not a prolonged process, and the masticated root was kept dry. What
Cook calls 'brewing' was really infusing. He was not always put off by the sight of the
[276] process. 'Captn Cook often drank of it, holding it as an argument that seamen should eat
& drink every thing that came in their way, some of our Officers follow'd ye good example
[574] set them, I must acknowledge either my want of taste or politeness for I could by no means
be brought to taste it in a mixture, contenting myself with taking it in ye manner of ye
[129] slaves, the least piece put in ye mouth fills it with an instant glowing heat, it is nearest in
taste to ye horse-radish of any thing I can recollect.'—Williamson, 17 July.

[1] '... what at first appears singular, is, that although neither his brother nor any great
chiefs can eat before him, yet his own attendants do & sometimes with him, this cannot be
suppos'd to degrade his dignity & lessen it, as they are not exalted sufficiently to claim any
[563] libertys he does not chuse to grant.'—King, 7 June. The reason for this exception to the
general eating rule was probably that those who were favoured were, as Cook says below,
'of the Kings household'—that is, they were *matapule*, and also *matapule* of foreign origin.
The inconvenience of the eating *tapu*, and other varieties of *tapu*, carried to an extreme of
consistency with personal attendants, might well be very great, but one who was rankless in
any Tongan connection was exempt. Thus Hoakai (Samoan Soakai?) 'a matapule
to the Tui Tonga, was privileged to eat with the Tui Tonga, a thing which no Tongan
might do' (Gifford, p. 141).

[131] [2] Pangaimotu. It is a small island, less than a square mile in area and 15 feet high, 2½
miles north-east of Nuku'alofa.

[825] [3] '... they were much surprized at our Cattle and called them Boaha,la,hi; which
signifies, large Hogs. ...'—Gilbert. The Tongan expression is *puaka lahi*. I have been told
that the Tongans still refer to cattle and other livestock as 'Cook's pigs'.

651 tinued to sing short sentances, while a number of other men were
796 coming in with Yams, each tied to the middle of a pole. In the mean
time the King and the Prince came and seated themselves on the
[123] area, and we were desired to sit down by them, to pull of our hats and
untie our hair that we might appear the more decent. The men with the
[482] yams being all come in, each pole with the yam was taken up between
two men who carried it over their shoulders; and after forming themselves
into companies of ten or twelve they marched a cross the place
with a quick pace each company headed by a man bearing a club or
spear and guarded on the right by several others armed with different
Weapons. A man carrying a live Pigeon on a pearch Closed the
rear. Omai was desired to ask the Cheif where the yams were going
[644] to be carried to, he answered to be baked. This appeared probable
enough as we had been told that the occasion of this ceremony was
[643] him and his Son eating together, a thing that had never yet been
[264] done.[1] However as he seemed unwilling to give us the information we
wanted two or three of us followed them contrary to his inclination.
We found they had stoped before a Morai or Affiatouca,[2] which was
hardly a quarter of a Mile from the place where they first assembled;
here they were making up the yams in bundles but for what purpose
could not learn, and as our presence seemed to give them uneasiness
we left them and returned to the Cheif, who told us we might amuse
our selves by walking about awhile for that nothing would be done
for some time; the fear of loseing part of this Ceremony made us not
[784] be long absent. When we returned to the King he desired me to order
the boats crew not to stir from the boat, for as every thing would very
[688] soon be *Tabu*, who ever was found walking about would be *Mated*,
that is killed or beat. He also informed us that we could not be present
651 at the Ceremony, but that we should be conducted to a place where
796 we might see every thing that passed; objection were made to our
dress, to be present it was necessary we should be naked as low as the
123 breast with our hats off and hair untied. Omai offered to conform to

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[651] the present Keeper of the Palace Records at Nuku'alofa, informs me that 'the Tu'i Tonga
himself directed everything at the Inasi, no one knew exactly what would happen. There
[796] were no fixed rules. . . . Stories are told about the Inasi, but there are no details for the
actual ceremony itself and probably each Tu'i Tonga had his own arrangements for the
[643] performance.' Gifford (*Tongan Society*, pp. 76–7) describes, from the memories of an aged
informant of things seen in his youth, a ceremony, '(or perhaps entertainment)', that
[644] seems to have been one of the last traces of ancientry; but clearly this was of the '*inasi*
proper. For what we may call 'the young Prince '*inasi*', Cook and Anderson remain the
only glasses in which we can see, darkly.

[1] Eating together would imply complete equality, as of two co-existent Tu'i Tonga.

[2] The two things are not the same. The *fa'itoka* was the tomb structure, though it
[764] could also be a definite area about the mound where a chief's important retainers and
[346] distant relatives were buried (McKern, p. 31). The *morai* (Tongan *mala'e*) was in this
context the open space for assembly in front of it.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

this Custom and began to strip, other objections were then started so 651 that he could not be present no more than us. I did not much like this restriction and stole out to see what was now going forward, I found 796 very few people stiring, except those dressed to attend the ceremony, 123 some of whom had in their hands a small stick about four feet long and to them were tied two or three others not biger than ones finger. These men were going towards the Morai before mentioned, I took the same road, and was several times stoped by them all crying out *Tabu.* I however went forward without much regarding them till I came in sight of the Morai and the people who were seting before it; I was no[w] urged very strongly to go back and not knowing what might be the consequence of a refusal, I complyed. I had observed that those people with the sticks passed this Morai or what I may as well call church,[1] and thinking something was going forward beyond it, which by taken a turn round I might get a sight of, but I was so clos[e]ly watched by three men that I could not put this in execution. In order to shake these fellows off I returned to the Kings and from thence stole out a second time, but I was no sooner out than I met with the same three men, so that it seemed as if they had been set on purpose to watch me. I paid no regard to what the[y] did or said till I came in sight of the Kings affiatouca or Morai before which a great number of men were seting and were those I had seen pass the other Morai from which this was but a little distant. Oberving that I could watch the motions of this company from the Kings Plantation I returned, very much to the satisfaction of those who attended me. As soon as I got in I accquainted my companions with what I had seen and we took our Stations to watch their Motions. Several afterwards joined them and at length they all got up and Marched off in Procession one after a nother, every two carrying one of those small sticks over their shoulders. The small pieces of sticks that were 651 tyed to the others we were told were yams, so that probably they were to represent this root emblametically.[2] The hindmost Man of 796 each couple for the most part placed one of his hands to the midd[l]e of the stick as if it alone was not sufficient to support the weight that hung to it, and under which they all seemed to bend as they walked. This procession consisted of one hundred and eight couple, and all or most of them men of rank; they passed close by the fence behind which we stood so that we had a full view of them. As soon as they [123] were passed we repaired to the Chiefs house and saw him going out, we were not allowed to follow but was forthwith conducted to the

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[1] Only a *mala'e* was not a church, any more than it was a *fa'itoka*.

[2] The deduction was correct.

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[1777]

651 place alotted us, which was behind a fence that fronted the first
796 Morai in which we took the liberty to cut small holes to peep through
the better to see what passed on the other side. As we were not the
123 only people who were excluded from being publickly present at this ceremony, but allowed to peep from behind the Curten, we had a good deal of Company, and I observed that all the other inclosures adjoining to the place were filled with people. But notwithstanding they admit this, all imaginable care seemed to be taken that they should see as little as possible, for the fences had not only been repaired that Morning but in many places raised higher than common so that the tallest man could not look over them.

On our arrival at our stations we found several men seated on our
651 right or on the left of the Area before the Morai and on each side of
796 the road which crossed it; others were continually joining them. At length some appeared carr[y]ing small poles or sticks, and branches or leaves of the Cocoanut tree plated into each other as when used for covering of Sheds &c^{a}. On these appearing a man seated himself in the road and with his face towards them made a set oraision and then retired back and the others passed on to the middle of the Area where they built a small shed of the Materials above mentioned; when done they all squated down for a Moment before it then rose up and retired to the other company. Soon after came the Prince, preceeded by four or five men and seated themselves on one side the Shed and rather behind it. Then came twelve or fourteen Women of the first rank following each other, two and two carrying between them a stripe of Cloth of about two or three yards in length; these marched up to the Prince, squated down before him, wraped some of the Cloth round him and those with him, then rose up and retired in the same order a little to his left and there seated themselves. Next came the King, preceded by four men two and two a breast, he seated himself on the Princes left hand, rather behind and about twenty paces from him; this was no sooner done then three parties of ten or a dozen men in each Started up and ran a Cross the Area, squated down on the other side for a Moment, then rose and returned in the same manner to their former stations. The Procession before mentioned now came in; to judge of the circuit they had made from the time they had been absent, it must have been pretty large. But before the procession appeared the Prince and those with him seated themselves under the Shed, the Prince sat facing us or rather the people and with his back to the Morai. As the Procession came in they March up to the right of the Prince, squated down on the grass, laid down their burdens (being the sticks before mentioned) faced

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round to the Prince, then rose up and retired in the same order and 651
seated themselves along the front of the Area. Three men who sat
with the Prince continued to make an Oraision consisting of seperate 796
sentences all the time the Procession was coming in. After this a
man who sat in the front began an Oraision and at the several times
during it, went and broke one of those Sticks brought in in the procession.
As soon as this man had ended his Oraision the assembly [123]
broke up and we were at liberty to go where we pleased; some repaired
on board but I and two or three more remain'd to see the end
of the Ceremony, which was not to be till the next day.[1] The shed
was left standing and the small sticks or poles[2] brought in by the
Procession were left lying on the ground; after the assembly broke
up I went and examined them and found that to the middle of each
was tied two or three small sticks as has been related, yet we had
been repeatedly told by those about us that they were young yams,
insomuch that some [of] our gentlemen beleived them rather than
their own eyes, whereas it is clear we ought to have understood them
that they were only the representation of these roots.

Our supper was got ready about 7 o'clock it consisted of fish and 648
Yams, we might have had Pork also, but we did not chuse to kill a
large hog the King had given us for the same purpose. The King [643]
supped with us and drank pretty freely of Brandy and Water so that
he went to bed grogish; he and several of his attendants slept in the
same house with us. About one or two o'clock they waked and chated Wed. 9
for about an hour then went to sleep again. All but the Chief rose at 513
day break and went I knew not where. Soon after a Woman, one of 643
those who generally attended upon him, came in and asked where he
was, I shewed her him laying fast a sleep; she immediately sat down
by him and began to beat a kind of Tattoo on his breech with her
clinched fists, which in stead of keeping asleep as it was intended it
waked him, however he continued to ly down. This is a nother odd
custom which they have, whenever the King lies down to sleep or rist
two or three Women for the most part attend him, one of them beats
or taps gently with her fists on his breech or thighs and as she is tired
a nother takes her place, thus they continue some times a whole

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[1] 'they [Cook, Gore, King, Anderson and Omai] continued there the whole night except M^{r} King, who obligingly return'd in y^{e} Evening to relieve me, that I might see the ceremony of next day, as I could not go without such relief, Capt^{n} Cook having very properly order'd that the Ship should never be left wthout a commission'd Officer on board; while I was commanding Officer I had sent a midshipman with y^{e} Boatswain & a party to cut brooms, who was very ill use'd by the natives, the natives struck y^{e} midshipman & wrested his hanger from him, & altho' this was upon duty he was obliged tamely to put up wth y^{e} loss, as Capt^{n} Cook would take no steps to recover it. . . .'—Williamson, f. 64v.

[2] I have made an emendation here: the word is badly written in the MS, and looks like 'plates'—probably 'ploles', a slip for 'poles' as printed.

513 night.[1] One would at first think this would produce the Contrary
643 effect to what is intended but it is not so, for it creates a very agree-
able and pleasing sensation. Omai and I now went to visit the Prince
644 who parted from us early in the evening, for he did not lodge with
the King but in apartments of his own, or such as had been alloted
him some distance from his Fathers; we found him with a Circle of
Boys or youths like himself before him, and an old Woman and an
old man who seemed to have the care of him siting behind; there
were others both men and Women who seemed to make a part of his
household, that were employed about their necessary affairs in differ-
648 ent apartments. From the Prince we returned to the King, by this
time he was up and had a crowded Circle before him, composed
643 chiefly of old men; while a large bowl of Cava was preparing a
276 Baked hog and yams Smoaking hot was brought in, the greatest part
264 of which fell to our share, that is to the boats crew, for these people
eat very little in a Morning and especially the Cava drinkers. I after-
512 ward walked out and visited several other Chiefs and found that all
of them either were or had been taking their morning draughts. Re-
512 turning to the King I found him a Sleep in a small retired hut with
two Women taping his[2] breech. About 11 oclock he got up, some fish
643 and yam, which tasted as it had been stewed in Cocoanut milk, was
brought him of which he eat a large portion and then laid down to
648 sleep again, when I left him to visit the Prince and to make him a
644 present of Cloth, Beads &ca I had brought with me for the purpose;
there was sufficient to make him a compleat suit of Clothing, in
which he was immediately dress'd. He first went and shewed himself
to his Father, and then carried me to his Mother, with whom was
ten or a dozen other respectable looking Women. Here the Prince
changed his apparel and made me a present of two peices of their
648 Cloth. By this time it was pass'd Noon, when every one of us accord-
ing to appointment repaired to the Palace to dine and presently after
643 dinner was served up consisting of two Pigs and yams, I rouse'd the
262 King up to pertake of what he had provided for us. In the mean
time two Mullet and some shell fish was brought him as I supposed
for his dinner; he joined it to ours, sat down with us and made a
hearty meal.

651 Soon after dinner was over, we were told that the ceremony would

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796 [1] This was the sort of massage called *tukituki* (*tuki*, to strike). It served to relieve pain,
123 lassitude, and fatigue, says Mariner, to 'give very great ease, producing a soothing effect upon the system, and lulling to sleep'.—II, p. 233. There was a variant: 'Sometimes, when a man is much fatigued, he will lie on the ground whilst three or four little children trample upon him all over; and the relief given by this operation is very great'.—ibid.

[2] *his:* MS *in.*

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soon begin and desired not to walk out, I however had resolved to 651
peep no longer from behind the Curtin, but to make one of the 796
number in the Ceremony if possible; with this View I stole out of the
Plantation and walked to wards the Morai; I was several times ap- 123
plied to to go back by people who were passing to and fro, but I paid no regard to them and they suffered me to pass on. When I got to the Morai, I found a number of men seated on one side of the Area on each side of the road which led up to it; a few were seting on the other side the area and two in the Middle of it facing the Morai. When I got into the midst of the first company I was desired to sit down which I accordingly did. Where I sat down were a number of small bundles or parcels made up of Cocoanut leaves, and tied to sticks made into the form of hand barrows, all the information I could get of them was that they were *Tabu*. Our number kept continually increasing, every one coming from the same quarter; every now and then, one or another of the Company would turn himself to those that were coming and make a short spea[c]h in which the word *Areke*, that is King was generally mentioned. One made a speach which made them all laugh heartily, others met with publick applause. I was several times desired to go away, and at last when the[y] found I would not stir, they, after some seeming consultation, desired I would bare my shoulders as they were, with this I complied[1] after which they seemed no longer uneasy at my presence. I sat here a full hour without any thing more going forward than what I have mentioned. At length the Prince, the Women and the King all came in as they did the day before and as soon as the King was seated three Companies ran forward and backward a cross the Area as they did then. Soon after the two men who sat in the Middle of the Area, made a short speach or prayer, then all of us started up and ran and seated our selves before the shed under which the Prince and three or four men were siting. I was now partly under the management of a man who seemed very assiduous to serve me and placed me in such a situation, that if I had been allowed to make use of my eyes, I might very well have seen every thing that passed, but it was necessary to sit with down cast eyes and as demure as Maids. Soon after the 651
Procession came in as the day before, with a Cocoanut leafe plated 796
round the Middle of the pole or stick which they bore on their Shoulders, and which they laid down with the same ceremony as they

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[1] 'We who were on y^{e} outside were not a little surprised at seeing Cap^{t} Cook in y^{e} procession of the Chiefs, wth his hair hanging loose & his body naked down to y^{e} waist; no [292]
person being admitted covered above y^{e} waist, or with his hair tyed; I do not pretend to [302]
dispute the propriety of Capt^{n} Cook's conduct, but I cannot help thinking he rather let himself down. . . .'—Williamson, f. 64v.

651 796 did those the preceding day. This first Procession was followed by a second, the Men who composed it brought Baskets such as are usually used to carry provisions in and made of Palm leaves. These were followed by a third Procession who brought in different kinds of small fish stuck to the end of a forked stick.

The Baskets were brought up to an old man whom I took to be the Chief Priest and who sat on the Princes right just without the Shed. He held each in his hand till he made a short speach or prayer, then laid it down and called for a nother and repeated the same words as before and thus he went through the whole. The fish were presented one by one on the forked Sticks as they came in to two Men who sat on the left and who till now held green branches in their hands. The first fish they laid down on their right and the second on the left; when the third was presented, a stout man who sat behind the other two, reached his arm over between them and made a snatch at it, as also did the other two at the very same time, thus they seemed to contend for every fish that was presented, but as there were two hands against one with the advantage of situation the Man behind got nothing but pieces, for he never quited his hold till the fish was torn out of his hand and what remained in it he shook out behind him and the others laid what they got on the right and left alternatly. At length either by accedent or design, the man behind got a whole fish without either of the other two so much as touching it, at this the word *Ma rēē ai*[1] which signifies very go[o]d or well done, was uttered in a low voice throughout the whole crowd. It seemed that he had now performed all that was expected of him, for the few fish that came after he made no attempt upon. These fish as also the Baskets were all delivered by the persons who brought them in seting, and in the same order and manner the small sticks had been [123] brought in and laid on the ground. After the last procession were all come in there was some speaking or praying by different persons, then on some signal being given we all started up and ran several paces to the left and sat down with our backs to the Prince and the few who remained with him and I was desired not to looke behind me, Niether this commandment nor the remembrance of Lots wife, discouraged me from facing about, when I saw the Prince had turned his face to the Morai; but this last Movement had brought so many people between him and me that I could not see well what was doing; but was afterward told that the King and Prince were each presented with a piece of roasted yam, this was the more probable as all the people turned their backs to them at this time. After some little

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[1] *malie*, 'fine, splendid!'

time we all faced about and formed a large semicircle before the 651
Prince, leaving a large open place between us. Presently there appeared
some men coming to wards us, two and two bearing large 796
sticks or poles on their Shoulders making a noise like singing and
waving their hands as they came. As soon as they got close up to us
they made shew of walking very fast without advancing a single step;
presently three or four men started up from the crowd with large
sticks in their hands and ran to those new comers who instantly
threw down the poles from their shoulders and ran off, and the others
fell on these poles and beat them most unmercifully and then returned
to their places. As the men ran off they gave the challenge 651
usual in wristling, and not long after a number of stout fellows came
from the same quarter, giving the Challenge as they advanced, these 796
were opposed by a party who came from the opposite side almost at 526
the same instant; these two parties paraded the Area for a few
minutes and then retired each to his own side. After this there was
wrestling and boxing Matches for about half an hour, then two men 651
seated themselves before the Prince and made a speach address'd I 796
thought wholy to him, with this the ceremony ended and the whole [537]
assembly broke up. I now went and examined the several Baskets
which had been brought in, a thing I was not allowed to do before
because every thing was then *Tabu*, but the ceremony being over they
became simply what they realy were, viz. empty baskets, so that
whatever they were supposed to Contain was emblematically represented,
and so indeed was every other thing they brought in except
the fish.

We endeavoured in vain to find out the meaning not only of the [124]
whole but the different parts of this ceremony, we seldom got any
other answers to our enquir[i]es than *Tabu*, a word which as I have
before observed is applied to many other things. But as the Prince
was the principal person concerned in it, and we had been told by
the King ten days before it happened, that the people would bring in
yams for them two to eat and even described some part of the ceremony,
we concluded from this and what we saw, that it was an Oath
of Alligiancy or solemn promise which they made the Prince as the
immediate successor to the Regale Dignity, to stand by him and to
furnish him with the several articles that were here emblematically
represented. But be this as it will the whole was conducted with a
great deal of Ceremonious solemnity, and that it was mixed with a
great deal of Religion is evident not only from the place where it was
performed, but from the manner of performing it. Our dress and [123]
department had never been called in question on any account what- [292]

[302]
[516]

651 ever before. Now it was expected that we should be uncove[re]d as
low as the waist, that our hair should be loose and flowing over our
796 shoulders; that we should like them sit cross leged and at times in
123 the most humble posture with downcast eyes and hands locked to-
292 gether, all of which they themselves observed; lastly every one was
excluded but the Principle people and those who acted a part. These
302 to me were a sufficient testimony that they looked upon themselves
516 to be acting under the immediate eye of a Supreme Being. We were
told that a far greater or grandeur ceremony than this would be per-
651 formed on the same account in about three months time in which
796 ten Men were to be Sacrificed;[1] this is sufficient for us to beleive
that Human Sacrifices here as well as at Otaheite are considered as
782 necessary.

Before the Ceremony was over the day was far spent and as we
122 were some distance from the Ships and had an intricate Navigation
to go through, we made haste to be gone. When I took leave of the
648 Cheif he press'd me much to stay till the next day to see a funeral
Ceremony. This was the wife of Mariwaggy and Mother in Law to
643 the King, whose Corps, on account of the late Ceremony, lay on
766 board a Canoe in the Lagoon; he told me as soon as it was over he
would go with me to Middleburg, provide[d] I would wait, if not he would follow, for if it had not been for the death of this Woman, most of the Chiefs would have accompaned us to that island, all of them having possessions there. I would gladly have waited to have seen this Ceremony also had not the tide been now favourable for the Ships to get through the narrows, and the Wind, which for several days past had been very boisterous, Moderate and settled, and to have lost this oppertunity might have detained us a fortnight longer; beside we were told that the Ceremony would last five days and this was too long for me to wait in a place where I could not put to sea at pleasure. I however told him that If we did not sail I should certainly visit him again the next day, and so we all took leave and set out for the Ships where we arrived about 8 o'clock in the evening.

123 I had forgot to mention that Omai was present at this last days
ceremony as well as my self, but we were not together nor did I know
651 he was there till it was almost over. Omai after wards told me that as
796 soon as the King missed me, he sent several people one after a nother
to desire me to come back, probably these Messengers were not admited to come where I was, for I saw nothing of them. At last word

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[1] 'In about three months time' would mean October, the period of the regular *inasi* ceremony, the first-fruits or harvest festival described by Mariner; and men's lives could quite well be part of the harvest apportioned to the share of the gods. We cannot be dogmatic that Cook's 'on the same account' is either right or wrong.

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was brought him that I had striped in conformity to their custom and 123
then told Omai he might go too, provide[d] he would comply with
all the necessary forms, Omai had no objection as it was only com- 651
firming to the Custom of his own Country, he was furnished with a 796
proper dress and appeared at the ceremony as one of them. Probably one reason why we were excluded at first was the apprehinsions that we would not comply with all the necessary forms.

While I was at [Mooa] I ordered the Horses, Bull cow and goats 231
to be brought thither, thinking they would be safer under the eye
of the cheifs, than left in a place that would be in a manner diserted 177
as soon as we were gone. Besides these Cattle we left with them a young Boar and three young sows of the English breed: they were exceedingly desirous of them, foreseeing no doubt that they would greatly improve their own breed which is rather small, Feenough also got from us two Rabbits a Buck and a Doe and before we left the island were told she had brought forth young ones. If the Cattle succeed, of which I have no doubt, it will be a vast acqu[i]sition to these islands, and as Tongatabu is a fine level country the horses will prove a usefull animal.

THURSDAY 10*th*. On the 10th at 8 oclock in the Morning, we 122
weighed anchor and with a steady gale at SE turned through the
Channel, between *Maccoha* and *Manooaffee*[1] it being much wider than 133
the one between the last mentioned island and *Pangemaudoo*.[2] The flood set strong in our favour till we were the length of the Channel leading up to the Lagoon,[3] where the flood from the Eastward meets that from the west, this together with the indraught of the Lagoon and shoals before it, causeth Strong riplings and whirlpools.[4] To ad[d] to these dangers the depth of Water in the channel exceeds the length of a Cable, so that there is no anchorage unless close to the rocks where you met with 40 and 45 fathom over a bottom of dark sand, but then here you would be exposed to the whirlpools. This frustrated the design I had formed of bringing the Ships to an anchor as soon as they were th[r]ough the Narrows, and going to see the funeral, I chose rather to lose that sight than leave the ships in a

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[1] Makaha'a and Monu afe.

[2] Cook has here made a slip: for 'last mentioned' read 'first mentioned'. The distance between the reefs on which Makaha'a and Monu afe lie, measured on the chart, is about 2½ cables—some 500 yards, though the channel ('the Narrows') now used is barely 1½ cables wide. The Monu afe reef runs eastward to form the northern side of Piha passage. The distance between the Makaha'a and Pangaimotu reefs is about ½ cable—100 yards or so.

[3] 'The Water is fortunately so clear, that we can see any danger before we are absolutely upon it. This is our principal dependance, for as I before observ'd, the rapidity of the Tide renderd sounding of very little Consequence.'—Clerke.

[4] 'Heavy tide-rips and overfalls', to quote the *Pacific Pilot*, II, p. 368.

Before I returned on board I set on foot a trade for Hogs and Yams, 439
of the first we got but few but of the latter plenty. I put a shore at
this island the Sheep I gave to Mariwaggy, viz a Ram and two Ewes 231
of the Cape breed; they were intrusted to the care of Ta-oo-fa who
seemed to be proud of his charge. As the Dogs had not yet got to this 177
island I looked upon it to be the properest place for sheep.

SUNDAY 13*th*. The 13th in the after noon a party of us traveled to the 123
top of the highest hill in order to have a View of the interior parts of
the island. About half way we crossed a deep Valley, whose bottom
and sides were clothed with timber, though composed of hardly any 133
thing but coral rock, which, as was observed on Tongatabu, was perforated into all those holes and inequalities we find it on the Sea [137]
Coast, though this could not be less than two or three hundred feet
above the livel of the Sea. Indeed we found the same Coral till we
began to approach the summits of the highest hills, these were chiefly
composed of yellowish soft sandy stone. The soil for the most part is 134
a redish Cley which in many places seemed to be very deep.[1] On the
very summit of the highest hill is raised a round platform or Mount 345
of earth, supported by a wall of Coral stone, which to bring so high
must have cost much labour. Our guides told us that this Mount was
raised by order of their Chief and that they sometimes met there to [276]
drink Cava[2]—there being a spring of very good Water not many [312]
paces from it, and about a mile lower down a runing stream which
we were told finds its way to the Sea when the rains are copious; we
also met with Water in many little holes so that by diging no doubt
but great plenty would be found. From this hill we had a full View 133
of the whole island except a part of the south point; the SE side from
which the hills are not far distant, rises with very great inequalities 137
directly from the Sea, so that the plains and Medows, of which here
are some of great extent, lay all on the NW side; and as they are

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[1] 'Eua geologically is an interesting combination of the coral and the volcanic island.
Coralline limestone was deposited on an underwater volcanic base; then renewed volcanic [133]
activity was followed by intermittent uplift, and later tilting which made the east and south
sides higher than the west and north ones. Hence the combination of coral rock, soft
volcanic tuff and volcanic soil which Cook describes in these last two sentences, and the
landscape he describes further on. Parts of the island were naturally very fertile. To the
tributes printed in II, p. 260, n. 4 may now be added one from Edgar. 'This little Island
may be stiled the Montpelier of the Friendly Isles—the Land is higher than any of the
others, and affords some of the most Romantick & beautiful Valleys in the World the
greatest part of this Island is not planted the Earth or Soil of which bears the Strongest
resemblance to red Ocre—tho' there is great abundance of every thing for it's inhabitants
the Walks are enchanting and the whole Island is a little Paradise.'

[2] It was an *esi*, or 'rest-mound', a mound built for a particular chief, in some advan-
tageous spot, where he might take his ease, and recreate his spirit with the view, which [823]
Cook goes on to describe. Sometimes the ownership would lie in the whole chiefly family. [565]
The Tongans were very conscious of natural beauty, as well as of the pleasure of cooling
breezes.

adorned with tufts of trees and here and there plantations, make a 133
very beautiful Landskip from whatever point they are viewed. Whilest
I was viewing these delightfull spots, I could not help flatering my 137
self with the idea that some future Navigator may from the very same
station behould these Medows stocked with Cattle, the English have
planted at these islands. Our guides informed us that all or most of 565
the land on this island belonged to the great Lords of Tongatabu and
that the Inhabitants were only tenants or rather Vassals to them; indeed 423
it seemed to be the same at all the other isles except Anamocka,
where there were some chiefs who seemed to act with some kind of
independency.[1] Omai who was a great favourate with Feenough and 123
these people in general, was offered to be made Chief of this island
if he would stay amongst them, and it is not clear to me but Omai
would have stayed if I had approved of it, but altho I disaproved of
it, it was not because I thought he would do better in his own Native
Mon. 14 isle. The next Morning I planted a pine apple and sowed the seeds 241
of Millons &c^{a} in the Cheifs Planatation, and had a dish of Turnips to 177
dinner, being the produce of the seeds I left last Voyage.

Tues. 15 The 15th I had fixed upon for Sailing, till Taoofa press'd me to 648
stay a day or two longer to receive his present of yams &c^{a} this
and the daily expectation of seeing some of our friends from Tongatabu 431
Wed. 16 made me comply. Accordingly the next day I received the
Cheifs present consisting of two small heaps of yams and some fruit.
On this occasion most of the people of the island had assembled at 648
the place, and as usual gave us not a little trouble to prevent them
from pelfering whatever they could lay their hands upon. We were [526]
entertained with Cudgeling, Wristling and Boxing Matches, the
latter both by Men and Women. And in the evening we were to have
had singing and dancing, but an accident either put a total stop to it
or at least prevented any of us from staying a shore to see it. This was
a party of the Indians knocking down one of my people and striping
him of every thing he had on his back. On hearing of this I immediately
seized on two Canoes and a large hog and insisted on Taoofa
causing the things to be restored and the offenders to be delivered up
to me; he seemed much concerned at what had happened and forthwith
took the necessary steps to satisfy me. This affair, so alarmed the
people that most of them fled, however when they found I took no
other measures to revenge the insult they returned.[2] It was not long

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[1] This last clause is rather difficult to follow, unless Cook is referring to the pretensions of Finau—and the argument here seems to be political. The sentence generally seems to overdo the territorial power of the 'great Lords', although some of them had possessions in other islands than Tongatapu. 'Tenants' would certainly be more correct than 'vassals'.

[2] 'The natives here stript W^{m} Collett y^{e} Capt^{ns} steward naked except is shoes, as he was [126]

648 distance from the land. These men told us that the Canoe we had seen, in which two of them came from Tongatabu, had brought orders for us to have a certain number of hogs from Eaoowe or Middleburg and that in two days the King and other Chiefs would be with us and therefore desired we would return to our last station. There was no reason to doubt what these men told us as they came off with no other view, but as we were now clear of the land this was [439] not sufficient inducement for me to return. And more especially as we had got such a stock of hogs and roots on board as would run near to last us to Otaheite; for we got a good quantity of yams at the last island which were purchased cheifly with small nails; our stock of hogs was also considerably increased, but had the Cheifs of Tongatabu, whose property they mostly were, been with us we had undoubtedly got many more.

439 At the approach of Night, finding we would not return, these men left us as also some others who had come off in two Canoes with a few Cocoanuts and shaddocks to exchange for what they could get. 121 Thus we took leave of the *Friendly Islands* and their Inhabitants after a stay of between two and three Months, during which time we lived 123 together in the most cordial friendship, some accidental differences its true now and then happened owing to their great propensity to thieving, but too often incouraged by the negligence of our own 123 people. But these differences were never attended with any fatal consequences, to prevent which all my measures were directed. Also during this time we expended very little of our Sea Provisions but 122 lived upon the produce of the islands; and beside the oppertunity of leaving the Cattle before mentioned amongst them, those designed for Otaheite received fresh strength; so that upon the whole the advantages we received by touching here was very great, when it is considered that the Season for proceeding to the North was lost before I steered for these islands.

439 The best articles for traffick are Axes, Hatchets, Togies, that is a Iron tool made in emmitation of one of theirs which they call by that name,[1] it is like a plain[2] iron only it aught to be four times as thick. Nails from the largest spike down to a 10^{d}, Rasps, Files and Knives which are much sought after. Red Cloth and Linnen both white and Coloured; Looking Glasses and Beads, of the latter blue are in the hig[h]est esteem and white in the least: a String of large blue beads would at any time purchase a hog.[3] But it must be observed, that

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[1] *toki*.

[2] i.e. plane.

[634] [3] 'large beads of which the blue colour bore many Hund^{d} P Cent greater value than any other, but this preference to the blue was arbitrary, & happend to be the fashion, for on our first arrival at Annamooka they were indifferent as to colour, but Feenow's fondness

we know of, except by Tasman, who in his Chart lays down a small 101
island nearly in the situation I suppose Vaughwaugh to be, that is
in about the Latitude of 19° but then this island marked on the chart
is very small whereas Vaughwaugh is said to be larger than Tongatabu
and with high Mountain[s].[1] I certainly should have gone to this 123
island with Feenough from Happi, had he not then told me it was an
inconsiderable island and without a harbour, but Fattafee the King
assured me afterwards that it was a large island and not only produced
every thing in common with Tongatabu, but had several streams of
fresh Water, and that there was as good a harbour as the one in Tongatabu
and added if I would go there he would accompany me, and
if I did not then find every thing true he had told me I might kill
him, I had no doubt but that he told the truth and that Feenough
from some Views or other had deceived me.

Hammoah which is also under the dominion of Tongatabu lies two 101
days sail to the North or NW of Vaughwaugh, it is described as being
the largest of all the islands, with harbours and every other necessary.[2]

Fidgee lays three days sail from *Tongatabu* in the direction of NWBW,
they describe it as a high but very fruitfull island abounding with
Hogs, Dogs, Fowls and all the kinds of fruit and roots that are found
on any of the others.[3] It is not subject to Tongatabu on the Contrary [721]
they frequently make War on each other and it appeared from several
circumstances that these people stand in much fear of those of Fidgee,
and no wonder sence the one is [a] Humane and peacable Nation,
whereas the other is said to be Canibals, brave, Savage and Cruel.[4]
That they are Canibals, they themselves do not deny, there were 563
several of them at Tongatabu when we were there of whom we inquired,
those I saw was a full shade darker than any of the other
islanders,[5] one of them had a large hole in his left ear and so extended

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[1] Tasman's small island was Late, lat. 18°30', long. 174°40' W; it is small, but rises to [131]
1700 feet, much higher than any part of Vava'u, the highest 'mountain' on which is just
over 600 feet. Vava'u, broken up by water, is not as large as Tongatapu, though it looks [133]
about the same size on a general map: Tongatapu covers just over 100 square miles, the
whole Vava'u 'district' (i.e. other small islands are added in), only 46.

[2] Samoa is north-east, not north-west, of Tonga, distant about 500 miles. The story that [175]
it was under the dominion of Tongatapu was perhaps wishful thinking: it was invaded by
the Tongans from the end of the twelfth century to about 1250, when they were driven out, [640]
with appreciation of valour on both sides. But it seems to have paid some tribute.

[3] '. . . it is somewhat surprizing that Capt Cook did not go in search of it accoarding to His usual practice. His reasons for not doing it I can't account for; as we certainly had time while we were lying at Tongataboo.'—Gilbert.

[4] There is little record of war between Tonga and Fiji. But the prestige of Fiji was high, [177]
and adventurous young Tongan chiefs would treat Fiji as a sort of war college, and go across
to take part in the tribal fighting there. They also learnt a good deal about canoe-building
from the Fijians. The Fijian characteristics noted are all valid enough.

[5] They were not Polynesians, though Fiji was just outside the 'Polynesian triangle'. The [44]
'full shade darker' indicates the Melanesian strain. Inter-traffic between Fiji and Tonga
led to a certain mixture of blood, not confined to chiefly lines.

128 the other.[1] To have swell'd the Journal with a minute accou[n]t of bearings tacking &c[A] would neither have been entertaining nor usefull.

121 114 What has been here Omitted concerning the Geography of these islands will be found in the Narrative of my last Voyage; to that Narrative I must also refer for several particulars concerning the Inhabitants, their Manners and arts, as I shall now confine my self to such things as are intresting and not mentioned in that Narrative and such as may tend to explain some passages in the account of our transactions with them.

124 It may indeed be expected that after spending between two and three Months among these islands, I should be enable[d] to give a good account of the customs, opinions and arts of the inhabitants, especially as we had a person on board who understood thier language and he ours.[2] But unless the object or thing we wanted to enquire after was before us, we found it difficult to gain a tolerable knowledge of it from information only without falling into a hundred mistakes; in this Omai was more liable than us because he never gave himself the trouble to gain knowledge for himself, so that when he was disposed to explain things to us his account was often very confused. It was also very rare we found a person both able and willing to giving us the information we wanted, for the most of them hate to be troubled with what they probably think idle questions. 123 Our situation at *Tongatabu* where we remained the longest, was likewise unfavourable; it was in a part of the country where there were few inhabitants except fishers; it was always holyday with our visitors as well as with those we visited, so that we had but few oppertunities of seeing into their domistick way of living.

144 *Persons Manners and Customs*

As to the people they differ very little from those of Otaheite either in their persons or desposition, if any thing these have the advantage in being better limbed and finer shaped, but than their complexion is much darker.[3] 142 302 The hair is of different colours that is black, dark brown and flaxen,

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[1] By the 'annexed Chart' Cook must, I presume, mean the original from which was engraved Pl. XII of the printed *Voyage*, I, on which Bligh makes the comment (AL, p. 225), 'This is a Copy of my Chart, which was an entire Survey of my own except the South side of Amsterdam & the Isl^d Eooa which C. Cook laid down'. See, for a modern equivalent, Fig. 5 in the present volume.

[197] [2] We get a note on the language from Burney, f. 205. 'The Tongitabu language is more distinct and easier to be learnt than the Otaheite. it is less composed of vowels and does not afford so many instances of words nearly alike conveing different meanings. the G and K are sounds not used by the Otaheiteans and which they are not able to pronounce. in many words the gradual change of language may be traced from the Society Islands to the westward; as in Boa (a Hog) at Otaheite, Boakko at Tongitabu and Wacka at Horn Island.'

[3] Because of their position on the Polynesian-Melanesian borderline.

A [See category 102, p. 104--Analyst]

some height. We row'd to the last place and landed amongst a 643
considerable number of people, who receivd us with a sort of acclamation
not unlike our huzzaing, as most of them had probably never 648
seen a Europæan before and apparently had collected for that [133]
purpose. They immediately seperated to let Poulaho pass, who took [609]
us into a small inclosure and shifted the piece of cloth he wore for a
new piece neatly folded that was carried by a young man. An old [576]
woman assisted in dressing him and put a mat over his cloth, as we [292]
supposd to prevent its being dirtied when he sat down, but to our
great surprize on asking where Mareewagee was he said he had gone
from the place just before we arriv'd to the ship. He however desir'd [344]
us to walk with him up to a Ma'laee (a house of public resort or
perhaps worship)[1] which was near half a mile up, but when we came to
a large Area before it he sat down in the path and desird us to walk
to the house, which we did & sat down in front while the crowd that
followd us fill'd up the rest.

After sitting a little while Omaee went to enquire if he meant we
should see Mareewagee, but he either not understanding him or
interpreting his answer into an equivocal one we walkd about a little
and the Captain then ask'd to see his house, which he seem'd averse
to though he promis'd it before; upon which suspecting we should
not be able to see the person we went back to the boat, & just at our
departure three men with leaves strung about their necks sat down
near Poulaho and began to repeat something with a serious air which
we did not stay to hear finish'd. We also met several people coming [431]
with Baskets of Yams & hogs which were sent to the boat after us,
but the Capt^{n} was so chagrin'd at his disappointment that he would
not receive them nor a bale of cloth that was sent after us by a Canoe.

It is difficult to tell whether our disappointment was only accidental
or designed by Poulaho, for on enquiring at our return to the ship
no such person as Mareewagee had been there. I am however inclin'd [123]
to think it arose partly from our not understanding them perfectly,
and that had we waited a sufficient time we might perhaps have seen
the old man, as they mention'd some thing about a chief who would
come presently when they found us determind to go away.

The small tent for making Astronomical observations, with that 114
from the Discovery, were fixd to day immediately on the point at no
great distance from the other tent. A pretty brisk trade for provisions 439
carried on with the natives, a great many of whom came off to the
ship.

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[1] It was not the house that was the *mala'e*, but the cleared space in front of it; and the Tongan *mala'e* was not a place of worship.

repeating something slowly all the time and now advanc'd and joind 535
again, ending with universal applause. It would seem they consider'd
this dance as one of their capital performances, if we might judge [634]
from some of the principal people being engag'd in it, for one of the [643]
drums was beat by Futta'faihe the brother of Poulaho, another by [533]
Feenou, and a third which did not belong to the chorus often by
Mareewagee at the entrance of his hut.

The last dance had forty men and two drums as a chorus. It 535
consisted of sixty men who had not danc'd before dispos'd in three 533
rows having 24 in front, but before this they had a pretty long
preleminary harangue in which the whole body answer'd a single [537]
person who spoke. They recited sentences (perhaps verses?) alternately
with the chorus and made many motions with the Pagge in a
very brisk mode, which were all applauded with Maree'ai and
Fy'fogge, two different degrees of praise.[1] They divided into two
bodys with their backs to each other, form'd again, shifted their
ranks as in the others, divided and retreated, making room for two
champions who excercis'd their clubs as before and after them two
others, the dancers all the time reciting slowly in turn with the chorus,
after which they advanc'd and finishd.

These dances, if they can properly be call'd so, lasted from eleven 535
to near three o clock, and though they were doubtless intended 541-
particularly either in honour to us or to show a specimen of what they
consider their ne plus ultra in dexterity, there was a great number of
their own people attended as spectators. Their numbers could not be
computed exactly from the inequality of the ground, but by reckoning
the inner circle and the number in depth, which was in many places
between twenty and thirty, we suppos'd there must be near four
thousand, while at the same time there was round the trading place
at the tent and straggling about at least as many, so that we had
about eight thousand people collected on this spot drawn together for
the most part by mere curiosity.

It is with regret we cannot describe the language as well as manner 538
of these amusements, which would doubtless afford much information
as to the genius and customs of these people. I have however [123]
observ'd that though the spectators always approve of the various
motions when well made, a great part of the pleasure they receive
seems to arise from the sentimental part, or what they deliver in
Language; for before they enter on the scene of action they always
spend a considerable time just at one side where they may be seen in

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[1] *malie*, 'good, splendid!'—*fai foki*, something like 'Carry on, do!' *Fai* is to do; *foki*, an intensive. Mariner says 'Fyfoki. Encore! as exclaimed at public assemblies'. [192]

651 796 few people except about twenty who stood up in the end of a road that opens into the Area, who kept constantly repeating a sentence in a mournfull tone which convey'd some Idea of distress and that they call'd for something. This which they call ooee[1] was continued about an hour and in the mean time many people came down the road they stood in, each of whom laid a Yam before them or a bunch of ripe Plantanes wrapp'd up while others brought baskets whose contents we did not see. They then mov'd a little farther and continued the cry some time when they advanc'd a little more & sat down, the Yams &c being mov'd along with them each time. The whole amounting to 250 then got up and pass'd in slow procession before Poulaho, who sat on the grass, some carying the yams &c and others nothing but every one had either a club or spear in his hand. They pass'd on to the single Fya'tocka on the mount mention'd before & laid the things down but appear'd to have some reluctance in letting us pass that way, though we could see no reason why the whole should seem to be made so mysterious.

[481] At present we saw there was an end to the Ceremony but were informd something else was to be done in the afternoon, and accordingly after dinner they told us that we must not walk in any of the roads except that which led down to the boat, or else if we were seen there was people who would knock us down with clubs which they said was also the case with themselves. We however transgress'd a little and really saw no person in the roads though many were looking through the fences, but at the large Fya'tocka near Poulahos house there was a great many men collected together, whom we shortly after saw to the number of six hundred walking by pairs in [482] procession through the principal roads. Each pair had a long pole which they carried on the shoulders as if with a heavy burden, but they had only three bits of sticks or small yams about the thickness of a finger and six inches long tied to the under part. We were only 651 796 123 [784] [761] permitted to look at these through the fences, and as the mysteriousness seem'd to increase we urg'd Poulaho to be present at the ceremony, but he made several excuses by saying we must undress and go cloath'd like them and that we would not be able to sit long enough in a requisite posture, in either of which cases he alledg'd that if we transgress'd God would certainly kill him.

He however said that we should see everything that pass'd through a fence, and order'd some people to take us to an inclosure adjoining the Area of the Fyatocka where the Yams were carried to in the forenoon. The fence unluckily happen'd to be of that sort which is quite

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[1] *ui*, to call out.

close but we cut holes in it with our knives, to which they made but 651
few objections, and saw two or three hundred people sitting on the
grass near the end of a road that opens into the Area. In a little time 796
a few men carrying some small poles and old Cocoa nut leaves came [123]
with which they erected a small shade or roof near the middle of the
space, and upon their first appearance an old man pronounc'd a long [344]
oration in a serious tone much after the manner of some itinerant [537]
preachers, which with a shorter one spoke by a different person after
he had finish'd lasted all the time the shade was raising.

Soon after came Poulahos son with a few attendants who sat down
a little aside from the shade, and shortly after thirty women well 651
dress'd walking slowly by pairs, each pair holding a narrow piece of 796
white cloth by the ends, which they carried to where the young prince
sat and retir'd to a distance, his attendants wrapping the pieces of 644
cloth that were brought about his body. Poulaho then appeared with
three or four attendants and sat down at a considerable distance from [643]
his son, who then went and sat down under the shade with the people that attended him, and a considerable number more seated themselves upon the grass before the shade or as it might be calld the royal Canopy of these people. Three companys of six or seven each then got up from amongst the large crowd a little after each other, and running hastily to the opposite side of the Area sat down for a few seconds and return'd running in the same manner. To them succeeded two men, each of whom held a small green branch in his hand, who got up and approached the prince, sitting down for a few seconds three different times as they advanc'd, and then turning their backs returnd in the same manner, inclining their branches to each other as they sat. In a little time two more did the same, after which the people we had seen traversing the roads in procession came in and laying down their sticks a little to the right of the shade, sat down at a distance, closing their hands which they held before them with the most serious aspect as they retir'd, during which time a person kept pronouncing an oration (perhaps a prayer?) in a melancholy tone. A profound silence ensued for a little time and then five or six men rose successively, some of whom were call'd by name, and each broke one of the sticks, after which the people sitting before the shade seperated to make a lane through which the prince with his attendants pass'd and the ceremony ended.

WEDNESDAY JULY 9th. The wind SSE. Moderate breezes with fine 132
weather. Having not observ'd Poulaho or his son eat as had been
expected yesterday we enquir'd the reason and found the Ceremony 651
796

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

& made a blow at him, but missed him; he endeavoured to lay hold 648
of me again, but well knowing that putting a good face on the Matter 685
would be the only way to extricate myself out of their Hands, I
followed my blow & after making an Effort or two to lay hold of me
he took to his Heels finding himself deserted by his Confederates, who
had run away in the utmost precipitation on my first getting loose, I
thus saved above one half of the Beads & probably my Cloaths which
it is odds but they intended to take from me. This was the only
instance of Violence that I met with among them, tho' I was
frequently as much in their Power as I was at this time.

There were but few Houses on that part of the Island where the 361
Ships lay, & those who came from distant Parts erected temporary
Huts near our Tents for their residence during our stay in the
Country. Among these was Malawagee the father of Phenow, an old 643
Man & a Chief of the first consequence, and there was another Chief
who generally resided in the House close to the Tent, who was re- 644
markable for being foolish & possessing the highest Rank tho' it is
believed not the greatest power of any of the Chiefs of these Islands.
His name was Tooloobooloo,[1] he had a wife as foolish as himself and
they both seemed to be considered in the light of Divinities among
their Countrymen; Powlohow who was certainly their King, as he
possessed the first Authority among them, was not even suffered to
eat in the presence of this foolish Fellow. Omai spent most part of his 123
time on shore, where he erected a small House for himself and his
Girl close to the Astronomer's observatories; as he always kept
Company with Captn Cook & the officers of the Ships, he was looked
upon as a Chief of great Consequence & as such was highly respected
among them. The two new Zealand Boys did not trouble the Ship [177]
much while we staid here, they spent most of their time among the
Natives, who paid much attention to them & were very fond of their
Company; having once seen the new Zealand Heivah or war dance
they frequently desired the Boys to perform it before them which they
did & were much caressed & admired for it. In this manner those 648
who had leasure time on their Hands spent it here, while the neces-
sary duty of the ship was carried on such as wooding, watering, 439
repairing the Sails, salting Pork & stowing away yams for a Sea 123
Stock, & Captn Cook kept up an amicable intercourse with the
Chiefs by making them Presents & treating them at all times with 122
Kindness & respect, by which means our market ashore & the Ships 784
were well supplied with provisions but which cannot be the case
without the Concurrence of the Chiefs, who have it in their Power to

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[1] Latunipulu.

648 put an interdiction upon all Trade, which they call Taboo, which is
always most religiously observed by all the Natives; from hence it
439 appears how necessary it is to cultivate the good will & Friendship
123 of the Chiefs, which Captⁿ Cook never failed to do, and of his
extraordinary good management of Indians nothing can be a
122 stronger proof than the ample Supplies we procured at all the Islands
784 we touched at. When Powlohow first visited Captⁿ Cook at the
Happai Islands, among other things he asked him what he wanted at
648 these Isles, which rather surprized him as we had never such a
question proposed to us before at any of the South Sea Islands, the
643 natives contenting themselves with staring at us with vacant astonish-
439 ment & getting what they could from us without enquiring what brought us amongst them or what we wanted. This gave us no mean opinion of his Understanding; being answered that we touched here for refreshments he told us we should have whatever the Country afforded. The old King after a little further Acquaintance with us, observing that we paid the best price for Women & Hogs, concluded that these were the Commodities we were in search of & that wherever they abounded we should be glad to go, & being very desirous that we should visit Tongataboo, the largest of his Islands, He urged Captⁿ Cook strongly to go there, always enforcing his Intreaties with that irresistible Argument, wurrow wurrow Booaga, wurro wurrow Phaphenee,[1] that is, that in that Island we should be supplied with plenty of fine Hogs & fine women.

122 Omai having a dispute one day with the Corporal of Marines,
struck him while upon duty, on which the Man returned the blow, at this Omai was highly offended & made his Complaint to Captⁿ Cook, but not receiving that redress which he expected he took the Resolution of staying behind at these Islands & with that Intention set off for a distant part of the Country & took Tayweherooa the New Zealand Boy along with him; a messenger was sent after him & he was prevailed upon to return the next day & matters were made up to his satisfaction, tho' Captⁿ Cook would not punish the Corporal
648 as Omai had struck him while upon duty. The Island being exceeding
beautiful & pleasant & the weather almost constantly fair, hardly a
609 day passed but some small party of the Gent. of both Ships made
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[1] Samwell's Tongan here is a little doubtful. The word *lau* would mean 'plenty of', in the sense of an indefinite number, and would give him his '-row'; but possibly the 'old King's' irresistible argument was not based on numbers but on quality, and he was saying *ualoa*, in the sense of upstanding or large. (Tongan informants think this likely, though the word would now be applied to a tall thin person, and not to animals.) In Tongan eyes, quantity in both women and pigs would be synonymous with quality: therefore *ualoa puaka, ualoa fefine*.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

of Saliva. The Servant then put each portion together into the wooden 276 bowl & poured a certain quantity of Water upon it according to the number of Guests, the proportion of about half a pint of the prepared 574 Liquor falling to the share of each. He mixes the Mass & the water [415] well together with his hands & then puts a handful of the Fibres in through which he strained the Liquor; when this was done he had a fresh Bundle of Fibres brought to him which he put into the bowl & thereby took up a sufficient Quantity of the Liquor for one person's Share, & strained it into the Cup which was brought to him by the other Servant, who carried it first to the Chief himself except there was a stranger in Company to whom they always gave the preference, after that to the old Men, & so on till every one had his Cup & if there was any left it fell to the share of the person who prepared it. They give the root another Infusion which affords them a second Cup, but much weaker than the first. The Cup which is made of one [415] leaf is just made for present use & then thrown away. In this manner did Powlohow, Fatafee & Phenow regale themselves very morning [643] apart from each other, surrounded by inferior Chiefs who seemed to be their immediate Dependents, & it seldom happened but that some [634] of our people (C. Cook, Omai) attended their Levee & partook of [565] their Beveredge to which they were soon reconciled, notwithstanding [122] the Method of preparing it was not the most delicate: it has a strong bitter sickly taste peculiar to itself, it exhilerates the Spirits [171] & is perfectly intoxicating tho' it partakes more of the Effects of Opium than of Spirituous Liquors, causing Drowsiness and Stupidity; we never saw any of these people intoxicated by it nor have they the scaly Skin & sore Eyes by which the Otaheiteans Chiefs are distinguished, who drink an immoderate quantity of it & often get intoxicated with it, for there they drink it genuine that is with nothing but Saliva & the Juice of the root,[1] which may be compared to raw Liquor, whereas the People of Tongataboo mix water with it and so make it into Grog.

As the Island produces Breadfruit, Yams & Plantains in great 517 abundance & that with very little trouble or Labour to the Inhabitants, they lead a very easy and an indolent Kind of Life as indeed all the South Sea Islanders do; being perplexed with no Cares for the morrow, they find sufficient Leasure to pursue their amusements & enjoy the present Moment; during the Heat of the day they often repose themselves in the Shade or sleep in their Houses upon matts.

[1] It would have been impossible to produce a 'drink' in this manner. What Samwell means, presumably, is that a person would chew the root for himself and swallow what he could get out of it thus. This practice was certainly followed by some addicts.

Among their Amusements has been omitted the following which 524
the Children use, the first is keeping four balls up for a long time like
some of the slight of hand gentry do in England. The other is darting
a Stick with an oval head a great way which they do by striking it 526
first against the ground, it then rebounds to a considerable distance,
this is a play very common among the young boys.

During our Stay among them they did not seem to have any quar- 721
rels on their Hands either foreign or domestic, however they informed us that a little time before our Arrival they had been at War
with the People of an Island called Fidgee which they said lay to the
WNW at the distance of five day's Sail which may be ab^{t} 200 Leagues.
By their Account this Island of Fidgee is much larger than Tonga- 829
taboo, & the People numerous & as they say Cannibals. However at this
[time] there were some of the Natives of that Island at Tongataboo, & 439
it is probable that the two Isles carry on a Trade in time of peace. We [563]
saw some pieces of Cloth very curious & prettily painted which they
told us came from Fidgee & that none like it was made at Tongataboo.

It is probable that the white people above described are the same 114
with those mentioned in the Spanish Voyages published by Dalrymple
& which he supposes were the Inhabitants of the Southern Con- [143]
tinent which the Spaniards were in search of. The nonexistence of
which was proved so incontestibly by Capt^{n} Cook in his last Voyage
that it must put a stop to any further Cavils & idle suppositions from
the Editor of those Voyages.

Superiority of Birth seems to be held in high Estimation at these 565
Islands, The natives priding themselves much on being related to the
Chiefs whom they immagine to be the greatest Potentates upon
Earth, or indeed in the Skies; for in speaking of those of the highest
Rank they always told us that they were 'Agee la langee agee lalo
fonooa',[1] which signifies Kings of the Skies above & of the Earth
below, at the same time pointing with their Fingers to the Sky & the
Earth. And as the Chiefs were held in great Veneration by all Ranks, 648
Capt^{n} Cook always treated them with due Respect & was careful 565
that no Insult was offered to them by any of our people. Fatafee the
Brother of Powlohow[2] being on board the Resolution one day & 648
seeing a Girl whom it seems he knew with one of the Sailors between 644
Decks, wanted to take her away from him, but the Man having
engaged her for the Night & delivered the Payment to her friends, 123
refused to part with her and the Chief insisting upon it & going to

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[1] *'Eiki he langi 'eiki lalo fonua*. The translation Samwell gives is correct, if one accepts 'kings'.

[2] Fatafehi was the family name: this was a half-brother, Ma'ulupekotofa.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

648 drag her away the Man struck him. On this Fatafee immediately 644 desisted & waited upon Capt^{n} Cook with his Complaint: the man was called upon the quarter Deck & had nothing to say in his defence 123 but that the Chief had no business with the Girl as he had paid for her. Capt^{n} Cook told his people that he would suffer none of them upon any Account whatso[e]ver to strike an Indian except in their own defence, much more a Chief & he the 2^{d} man on the Island. He then ordered the man to be seized up and flogged, on this the good natured Indian forgiving the man for the injury he had just received from him made strong intercession to Captain Cook to spare him, but it was in vain tho' Fatafee pleaded long & earnestly for him, such an outrage was by no means to be looked over and the man received a dozen Lashes & was obliged to deliver up his mistress who was sent ashore; and it must be confessed that in all disputes between our People & the Indians, Capt^{n} Cook ever acted with the utmost Impartiality, being as ready to hear the Complaint of an Indian and to see justice done to him when injured, as he was to any of his own Men, which equitable way of proceeding rendered him highly respected & esteemed by all the Indians.

836 431 During our stay here we had a constant Intercourse with the Women both on board the Ships and on Shore, & the price was a Shirt or a Hatchet for the Night; they were brought to us & the Bargain made by their Fathers, Brothers or some Friend or Relation. Some of them followed us from Island to Island, many of the Annamooka Girls following us to the Happai Isles and afterwards to Tongataboo. They made shift before they left us of getting most of our Linnen from us, especially from those who were not rich in Hatchets. They are of a very amorous Complexion & highly deserving of what they got.

164 Before we left these Islands many of our people contracted that most grievous of all Curses the Venereal Disease, which has found its Way to these Islands & which in spite of every Care & Precaution will disseminate itself wherever an European goes. It was supposed by many that this Distemper was left here last Voyage by the Resolution & Discovery, tho' every Method that wisdom could suggest was taken to prevent it. We saw many who had venereal Ulcers upon them in 751 different Parts & one or two who had lost the Nose. We met with many people who were afflicted with enormous Swellings of their Legs & arms, tho' otherwise in perfect Health, brisk & lively, this is taken Notice of by Tasman & called S^{t} Thomas's Arm;[1] to prevent the swelling from extending to the fingers, they wear a string tight

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[1] It was elephantiasis.

SUNDAY JULY 6th. Struck the Tents & got every thing on board. 122
The Sheep given to Malawaggee being neglected and ill used by the
Natives Captn Cook took them on board again to day. While we lay
here a grand Festival was observed on shore called Annachee, held 651
on account of Powlohow's eldest Son arriving at a certain age (about 796
14 or 15). At this Festival which lasted three days, were present 644
Captn Cook & Clerke with Omai & some of the Officers of the
Resolution. It was held in the interior part of the Island where
Powlohow & the Principal Chiefs lived. Captain Cook & Omai were
permitted to assist at the Ceremony, which they did dressed in this [291]
Country Habit with their Hair loose about their Shoulders & un- [302]
covered from the waist upwards. Powlohow's Son was seated cross [123]
legged upon fine Matts & the principal Chiefs of the Island came in a
Procession & made him Presents of Cloth & other Manufactures
with all kind of Provisions, & Captain Cook & Omai who joined in
the procession gave him some Hatchets, Beads & other Things—
every thing was conducted with great Solemnity & it was death for
any of the Natives who were not concerned in the Ceremony to be
seen near the Place, & such of our Gentlemen who were Spectators
through a Hedge were not supposed to be there. We supposed that at
this Festival the Chiefs were swearing Fealty & doing Homage to the
next Heir to the Crown, & that by the Presents they laid at his feet,
that they acknowledged all their Property was in his Power & that
they only held it at his Pleasure. And they told us that in about a
Month's time another Festival was to be held in the same place on
the like Occasion, at which the Chiefs were to do him Homage and 651
acknowledge their Lives to be in his Hands, by each of them killing 796
a certain Number of their dependents in his Presence, & they said 644
that about 50 human Sacrifices would be offered up on the occasion; 782
Pheenow was to kill the greatest Number of any of the Chiefs, his
Quota being six, the rest were to slay some four, some 3 & others two [634]
& one according to their different Ranks. This horrid business was to
be performed by the Chiefs themselves who knock the Victims in the
Head with a Club. We asked them if those who were to be sacrificed
knew that they were to be the Victims; they told us not & that if they
did they would run away, but that they were always taken unawares.
Such is the Savage Custom of these People, & in such a deplorable
state of Servitude do the lower Rank of men live among them that
they hold their existence but at the will of their Masters.

THURSDAY JULY 10th. At 7 o'Clock this Morning got under sail with 122
the Wind at ESE; employed all day in turning to Windward, at

175 such apparent depression of Mind (I suppose in consequence of its happening
before severall of us to whom he had beking'd himself) that I cou'd
634 not help participating in a great measure in his distress; indeed I am not
643 much surpriz'd at this Usurpation of Feenow's, for he certainly concluded
that the more honorary and dignified he shou'd appear, the more he might
be able to get from us; was this the case I cannot conceive it for Indians,
who have so few opportunities of the kind, very illaudable; upon this
Principle he wou'd have the Sanction of the Bulk of Mankind both
humaniz'd and wild to plead in his excuse, for I think it seems a pretty
general maxim with most Men to make as much of their Neighbours, or
any other incidental Connexion as they conveniently can; but to proceed.

On the 8th we again departed from Rotterdam and stood for Amsterdam,
175 where we anchor'd on the 11th Instant. Here we found a repetition
609 of the Civilities we had experienc'd at the other Isles, abuntantly enjoying
the many good things, with which all bountifull Providence seems in a
175 peculiar manner to bless these happy Isles. We were here soon given to
understand there was a Man at a little distance still greater than Powlahow;
643 Capt Cook and myself beg'd to be conducted to him, that we might
576 have the honour of paying our respects; this we address'd to Powlahow,
292 who answer'd that nobody was admitted to his Presence with their
Cloaths on; if we did go to him, we must be naked to the Waist, and at the
same time added he wou'd ere now have visited the Ships, but was given
to understand by those who had been on board, that during their Stay in
the Captains Apartment, which of course was the principal one of the
Ship, there were People walk'd over their Heads; this he said Mallawogga,[1]
which was the Name of this formidable Chief, cou'd not possibly admit of,
for any Man in Nature being above his Head wou'd be consider'd as a
[123] diminution to his Honour, and an insult to his Consequence. To these
extraordinary arguments we return'd, that our King never exacted any
such Mark of respect as stripping before him, that we pull'd our Hats off
in his Presence, which we were ready to do in King Mallawogga's; that it
was highly preposterous in King Mallawogga to think of more respect
from us than King George, who was so infinitely a greater Prince, whose
Subjects were so numerous, that we were so very inconsiderable a part as
wou'd scarcely ever be miss'd were we never more to appear at Home; yet
we trifling handfull of King George's subjects cou'd with all ease dispossess
or even destroy King Mallawogga and every subject he had got; having
thus argued with Powlahow, he engaged to carry us the next Morning
to Mallawogga's and favour us so far as to introduce us with our
Cloaths on.

175 Accordingly on the Morrow, which was the 13th Instant, I attended
Capt Cook, & having first equip'd ourselves with some of our choisest
643 presents for this mighty Prince, we set out in our Boats with Powlahow for
123 the regal Apartments. After a Row of about 2 Leagues, which was latterly
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[1] Macaliuaki. Clerke seems to hear an *l* in names where others—e.g. Cook—hear an *r*.

in a fine spacious Pleasant Bay, we were landed in a delightfull part of the 175 Island, most numerously inhabited. We were conducted amidst many hundreds of our good Friends to a large House where we were desir'd to 643 set down and wait till Mallawogga was prepar'd for our reception. After 123 waiting till our patience was pretty well exhausted, we began to be 609 inquisitive to know when his Majesty wou'd be enough at leisure to give us a few minutes Audience; some to whom we address'd ourselves told us his Majesty was taken very ill; others that he was retir'd to his religious Offices; others again told us he was gone to the Ships: this last we knew was a very improbable Assertion for had that been the Case, we must have seen something of him in our way hither, however it requird no great degree of divination to find out that his Majesty, be he where he wou'd, was not dispos'd to see company, at least us that Day, which being now pretty well convinc'd of, we walk'd again towards the Boats; in our way thither, Powlahow wou'd fain have introduc'd us to another Gentleman, who he said though not a King was a very great Man; but our visit today being professedly to his Majesty, and not feeling any great Exultation at the Turn affairs had taken, we did not find ourselves dispos'd to any farther introductions for the present, so got to our Boats and made the best of our way for the Ships again. The next day we were given to understand [124] that Mallawogga was on shore a little distance from our Tents; in the afternoon I accompanied Cap^{t} Cook to pay our respects; we found him setting under a Tree, surrounded by many of his great Men and a multitude of the rabble: he is a very old Man, I think clearly arriv'd to his second Childhood; however we were graciously receiv'd, pay'd our respects, made our presents and set down by him; after about 2 Hours conversation, but confusedly understood on both Sides (for we are as yet by no means perfect in their language and they know not the least of ours) we got up and took our leaves; the old Gentleman in return for his presents gave us some large Pieces of Cloth, and we parted very good Friends. The old Boy now took up his Quarters among us, as before had our old 175 Acquaintance Powlahow and Feenow, with many Chiefs of less Distinction, so that we pass'd our time in all the luxury and festivity that this 643 Country afforded; in the first place in respect to Diet, we far'd sumptuously 609 every day, and in the next we were very frequently entertain'd with Musick both vocal and instrumental, Dancing, Wrestling, Fighting &c in the manner I have before related.

On the 18th We had our Marines on Shore, who went through the 175 various Maneuvres of their Exercise before them and in the Evening we set off some Fireworks with which they were both delighted and astonish'd. 177 We soon had reason to observe that they had aggrandized old Mallawogga 175 to the degree they did only to forward some favourite Scheme of theirs; I conclude upon the same principal that Feenow before had beking'd 634 himself; for it may be necessary here to observe, that upon all Introductions 643 to Indian Chiefs, you make your way, with a present in your hand, and they of course conclude that this present is generally calculated

[1777]

175 according to the estimated consequence of the Gentleman to whom you are
introduced, in this I believe they guess well, in respect to myself I am sure
634 they do; however this old Gentleman, was nothing more than Agee or
643 Prince of this particular district where we happen'd to lay,[1] and upon all
Occasions did homage as a subject to Powlahow, who we found to be
indisputably to all intents and purposes Agee-lahi or King of this Island
175 and all its various Connexions. Feenow, tho' not King Feenow, was still a
very powerfull Gentleman; in the first place he was their Generalissimo
634 and upon all Occasions led their Armies to battle; in the next he was an
157 active, stirring fellow, enterprizing and extremely popular, so that though
he was not by his Station so consequential as some few of them, yet by his
701 disposition and attention he render'd himself every atom as formidable,
and his friendship might be, and was, productive of more services to us
175 than any of [the] rest cou'd have contributed. Powlahow most certainly was
Lord of all, but he was an indolent, fat, greasy rogue, whose sole delight
643 was eating, drinking, laughing, and the Diversions of the Seraglio; let him
157 but abound in these amusements, which was pretty much the case with him
and who wou'd might reign and direct the affairs of State for what he car'd.

On the [19th] instant Capt Cook distributed among the principal
175 People, some of his Cattle. He gave them a Bull and a Cow; Horse and
123 Mare, several Sheep & some Goats of different Sexes; these I hope and
[181] flatter myself will flourish and become a blessing to them. I think they are
full as likely to increase among these People as among any set of Indians
we know of; these are by no means so much the Children of the Hour as
our good friends of Otaheite and the Society Isles; they have infinitely
more thought and attention to the morrow than those good Fellows, which
their industry in agriculture and extensive plantations sufficiently evince.
000 On the other hand, in respect to our hungry Acquaintance, the Zeelanders,
every thing among them so immediately becomes the property of force and
power, that no Man knows what may be his possessions tomorrow; consequently
nothing is worth keeping that can possibly be made to accrue to
our use or satisfaction to day. In my Opinion the first friendly office that
can be done those People wou'd be if possible to correct their Dispositions
in respect to each other, untill that can be brought about, every attempt to
contribute to the good of that Society in general must be ineffectual, as
that universal, internal discord which reigns throughout the Country
wou'd inevitably defeat them.

175 On the 8th of July, I went with Capt Cook by particular invitation and
desire of Powlahow to his habitation to be present at a very extraordinary
644 Ceremony, perform'd in honour of his Sons arrival at such a particular
651 Age. This House of Powlahow's is situate in the same part of the Country
361 as we went to in order to visit Mallawogga; this being, as I before observ'd
175 a most agreeable part of the Isle, many of the principal People have Houses

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[1] This is a misapprehension of Macaliuaki's status, as has been made plain before. But he was, according to Anderson, p. 950 above, the 'Lord' or 'Baron' of the district of 'Noogoo noogoo'—i.e. the island Nukunuku, south-east of the anchorage.

and Plantations in the Neighbourhood. We understood that this Ceremony 175
was to qualify the Youth to eat before his Father; for by a confounded
unsocial Law which they have among them, no two great people can eat 361
or drink in each others Sight. When two of these Agee's met, either at
Capt Cooks Table or mine, the man of least rank always retir'd; any great 175
Man, will have his dependants or any other of his Inferiors, who are of no 264
particular distinction, eating and drinking about him, but no two People 565
of the first Consequence will eat or drink in the presence of each other, but
to return to Powlahow; We were not enough acquainted with the Language [644]
to understand the various Harangues upon this Occasion, so that all [651]
our Observations were confined to the outward Order and method of it. [123]
From its solemnity it must be a religious business, but what seems extraordinary
in such a kind of Undertaking is, nobody but the Gentry were 175
suffer'd to act in it, or even to see it, for before the processions began,
there were parties of people with Clubs sent about to clear the Streets and 644
knock any body on the head that dare violate the prohibition so far as to 651
be seen abroad during such a particular Time. Tho' we were there by the
particular Invitation of the King, we were not suffer'd openly to look at [123]
them, but were put behind a Bamboo hedge just by, where however by dividing the Bamboo's a little we cou'd see tolerably well. The Scene was acted upon a large Grass Plot, nearly in the middle of which was run up a little Slight Shed purely upon this Occasion; under this Shed was seated the young Prince (a fine well grown Youth of about 14 or 15, so swaddled in Cloaths as to be almost unable to move) with a few of the Nobles about him; when the Father, King Powlahow arriv'd he sat down at some distance with only 2 of his People with him, and was as far as I cou'd observe merely a Spectator throughout the business. About 10 yards from this Shed were seated a number of Gentlemen, for every man of consequence throughout the Land was assembled upon this Occasion. Whilst matters were in this situation, various little ceremonies pass'd which were altogether mysterious to me, so can say nothing of their purport; presently arriv'd the procession in very solemn order, it consisted of 600 of the principal People of the Island, each two carrying a stick between them upon their Shoulders, on which was tyed a sample of some particular produce of the Isle, and on some a few Fish; upon the arrival of these, those Gentlemen who were sitting at a distance from the Shed rose up and they all went together and sat themselves down as near as convenient to the Prince, and there in a very serious manner offer'd him the various Samples they had brought; some particular People whom I shou'd suppose to be Priests, making a Speech at every particular one. Soon afterwards arriv'd 30 Agee or Principal Women each two carrying a piece of white Cloth between them, which was offer'd him in the same manner. After this Ceremony was over, the business of the day was ended and every one went about his Business. The next day the same kind of form took place in every particular, and all Matters were conducted as on the day before as far as I cou'd perceive, only that after the Ceremony was done with the

175 cou'd come near; to one poor Fellow he gave such a blow, that he fell
down speechless, had a violent discharge of Blood from his Mouth & Ears
689 & was in very strong Convulsions; I concluded he was murder'd & was a
565 good deal aggravated & surpriz'd at the perfect Ease of the Agee upon the
[439 Occasion, who was no more affected, than if it was a Cock sprawling out
before him; the poor Fellow was taken away in this Condition by some of
his Friends & I believe soon recover'd, for if I'm not much mistaken I saw
175 him, apparently pretty well a few days afterwards. Another instance of the
kind happen'd at Middleburgh;[1] A Man amusing himself looking on at our
684 Market, seemingly as chearfull & free from Apprehension as any Man in
565 the World, when all on a sudden, to the great Surprize of our people, 4 or
5 of the Indians arm'd with Clubs, rush'd thro' the Croud, fell upon him &
beat him to Mummy, they sever'd his Skull, mash'd one of his Thighs &
wou'd not have left a whole bone in his Skin, but our People recovering
from their Consternation & being much hurt at such an appearance of
Cruelty, made them desist; the Man was taken away with some Signs of
Life in him, which however we found soon left him, for he was beat to
peices. Upon enquiring the reason of this terrible business, they told us the
Man had been particularly favour'd by an Agee's Wife; that the People
who beat him, was the Agee himself & his Servants, who had come in
quest of him purposely to knock him on the Head; I ask'd if they wou'd
serve the Lady so too, they answerd no, possibly they might chastise her a
little, tho' not severely: but what is very extraordinary on these Occasions,
the Standers by look on with the utmost indifference, just as tho' they were
Matters of course and in 5 Minutes afterwards are as facetious as if
nothing of the kind had happen'd.

175 We clearly perceive that Powlahow, Feenow, Mallawogga and any of
699 these principal People, can & will order a Man to be put to Death instantaneously,
565 & there is not the least Appeal from their Commands.

These good fellows, with all their Benevolence, Hospitality & social
175 Qualities have one ingredient in their Composition, which is at least a very
inconvenient one to their Neighbours, this is a devilish propensity to
685 theiving: they always went in & out of the Ship just as they pleas'd & in
● 123 the course of the Day, there were seldom so few as 100 of them on board;
they soon began this slight of hand work upon every thing that they cou'd
catch hold of; what hurt me most was, before I cou'd be at all aware of
them, they stole all my Cats, which were very good ones, & as they did
not take the Rats with them, of which the Ship was full, I felt this proof of
their Dexterity very severely. I frequently detected them in Thefts, then
threatned hard & turnd them out of the Vessell, however this had no
effect; I applied to Feenow, who told me to kill them, or he wou'd kill
them if I pleased; this I by no means approved of, however some Method
must be taken or they wou'd strip the Ship, therefore the next Culprit that
came in my Way, I tyed up & gave a good flogging; all the rest acquiesc'd

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[1] 'Eua.

in the justice of this procedure, look'd on with seeming pleasure, and when 175
I turn'd the fellow overboard, tho' there were at least 20 Canoes about, no
one for a quarter of an hour wou'd take him up: I adher'd to this Plan, 685
which tho' it did not abolish this confounded custom, it render'd it much 123
less frequent. The Indians themselves so far saw the justice of it, that we
had several instances of their detecting a Thief which had eluded the
vigilance of our People, & bringing him to me with his stolen Goods; upon
these Occasions I always liberally rewarded the Prosecutor & rewarded
the Thief. I offerd abundance of fine Things if they wou'd return my Cats,
but they were too fond of them, I found them irretrievable. Our general 175
Trade at these Isles were Hatchets Nails, Knives, Looking-glasses, Beads, 439
& sometimes a peice of red Cloth; the Blue & red Beads were what they
most esteem'd, any other Colour they put very little Value upon. 123

Our Method was, whenever we went to an Island, one of the first things [822]
we did, was to look out for a convenient market Place; here we stationed
our People who were adjudg'd to that duty, which were generally the
Gunners of the 2 Ships, & here the Natives very regularly brought their
Merchandize; sometimes they wou'd bring them to the Ships, where there
were likewise people appointed to bargain with them. The Agee's frequently
made us large presents of Yams, Hogs &c; this was pleasing, as it
kept up that social appearance, which it was both our Inclination &
Interest to maintain; but they were always in the End, by far the dearest
Provision we got. Every place we went to was deficient in that important [312]
requisite, good Water, we got some at them all, but cou'd not denominate
it good: at Anamooka it was rather brackish, at the Arpi Isles rather filthy,
and at Amsterdam it was both; however it was all I believe very wholesome,
for we found no bad effects from the use of any of it, we had no
other, & our People were all very healthy, but it was not so palatable as we
cou'd wish.

They tell us, that at Vow-Vow (which they say is a large Isle, laying N° 175
of the Arpi Isles one days sail) there is a very good Harbour with a fine
Stream of Water running into it;[1] they tell us too, that there's abundance of 823
excellent Water at a Group of Isles, which they call Fidgi, which they say
lie WNW 5 Days sail with a fair Wind from those they call the Arpi Isles
where we were: five days sail for one of those Canoes is a great distance,
they sail very fast; from all the Accounts I cou'd get, I shou'd conclude the
distance about 200 Leagues. These Fidgi Men are the Masters of this part 175
of the World; these People, own they beat and do as they please with them;
they are very lavish in the praises of the Country; they say it abounds in 829
every good thing, that the Women are very handsome, and the Men very
good, if Friends, but if Enemies they are very devils; in short these our good
Friends here, are in perfect dread of them, but they are now upon very
good Terms. A Canoe came from Fidgi whilst we staid here; one peculiarity 000
I observ'd in the Men, they had all the Grisle of the Ear cut out, so

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[1] The reference may be to Neiafu, a deep and land-locked harbour.

61: Kaeppler E-5 (1964-1967) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

114 An adequate description of a culture should place the same emphasis on
121 dance as that given it by the members of that society. Yet inadequate
descriptions of dances and their social functions persist even though
dancing is a cultural universal which is integrated with many other
universals in society. Despite the new techniques in recording dance
movements and the possibility of testing approaches such as those
developed in ethnoscience for their applicability, the scientific
description of dance and its function in Polynesia is at the same point
where the first writers on the subject, such as Captain Cook, left it.

The work to be presented here is an exploratory step in filling
121 a gap in the descriptive literature of the Pacific. It has two aims,
namely, to outline a method for analyzing structure of ethnographic
dance data and to delineate the structure of the dance of the
Polynesian society of Tonga.

I wish to thank the government of Tonga under their majesties
122 the late Queen Salote Tupou III and the present King Taufa'ahau
Tupou IV for permitting me to reside in Tonga for an extended period
of time. I also wish to thank other government officials including
His Royal Highness Prince Tu'i Pelehake, Mahe 'Uli'uli Tupouniua, and
123 the Honorable Ve'ehala. To my Tongan families, the Mataeles, Helus,
and Fonofehis go my _'ofa 'atu_, not only for their kindness and
acceptance but also for patiently putting up with my repeated questions
about things being the same or different, which one individual
confessed "made her wild."

121 the ethnographer's point of view, can be enriched by a description of the same events from the point of view of participants themselves.

FIELDWORK ON WHICH THIS STUDY IS BASED

The fieldwork on which this study is based was carried out in two 122 stages. The first field trip was financed by a pre-doctoral fellowship from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. The second more extensive field trip was financed by Public Health Service fellowship No. 5-F1-MH-25, 984-02 from the National Institute of Mental Health and a research attachment.

123 My first real acquaintance with the Tongans was in 1964 during the Tenth International Conference of the Pan Pacific and South East Asian Women's Association (PPSEAWA) held in Nuku'alofa, Tonga. At least three events during this two-week conference helped to establish my rapport with the Tongan people and to impress upon them my purpose.

First, most of the women of PPSEAWA are middle aged or older and all of the Tongan people thought that I was a reporter for the conference. (I had, in fact, only shortly before joined PPSEAWA because I was going to Tonga at approximately the same time as the Conference people.) Many were considerably surprised when during the second week I gave the paper for the Hawaiian delegation. The symposium "Art and Culture as a Bridge Between Past and Future" was based on my paper, "The Preservation of the Arts in Hawaii" (Kaeppler 1965). After this I was firmly established in the eyes of the Tongans as being interested in the arts.

● 123 Secondly, at the International Night program during the Conference, although there were 15 in the Hawaiian delegation, only two of us performed for Hawaii. We did five Hawaiian hulas and I thus became known as an authority on Hawaiian dance (which I am not) and thus it was only natural that I would be interested in Tongan dance.

Thirdly, the conference had small discussion groups including individuals from all the countries represented. As leader of one discussion group I became acquainted with the Tongans of the group. One of these Tongan women subsequently introduced me to a family of 'dance specialists,' and they became some of my best informants.

[121] During my first period of fieldwork in Tonga, from August to November 1964, I lived with a Tongan family that was atypical in many ways. The house 'belonged' to the grandmother (residence in Tonga is [591] ideally patrilocal) who was of chiefly birth. Although her husband had traveled and had wealth, his rank was lower than hers. Their oldest son, who was a representative in parliament, his wife and their seven children lived there. Their two unmarried sons lived there, but their unmarried daughter did not, nor did their other married children. The mother and father of the eldest son's wife were also part of the household, although they slept, with some of the children, in a small sleeping house adjacent to the main house. There were always at least five, and usually more, other related or unrelated individuals in the house for various reasons. In addition, a family of

123 'squatters' lived in a small house on the same land, and in some ways
can be considered part of the household.

[121] My original plan was to do a broad study of the arts and aesthetic
[125] taste in Tonga. I gave value tests based on sculpture, began to learn
the language and some dances, and observed tapa making. But mainly
I just participated in Tongan life.

[121] On my second trip I stayed nearly one year and lived alone in a
small, thatched Tongan house. However, for many purposes I was again
part of a household. This was a commoner family consisting of a
married couple plus their own and 'adopted' children. I usually spent
two days each week in Lapaha, Mu'a, the village traditionally reknowned
for its dancing. In Lapaha the family I stayed with consisted of a
woman of a chiefly family; her husband, a man from a *matāpule* (cere-
monial attendant) family; the woman's step-father, who was a commoner;
and two young girls who did most of the work. This third family was
Catholic, while the first two were Mormon and Wesleyan, respectively.

121 Building on my knowledge of Tonga gathered during the first trip,
I decided to concentrate on two of their important cultural categories--
dance and tapa making--and to explore the relation between these and
192 the social order. It should be noted that the Tongans have no verbal-
ised category that would correspond to the Western concept of the
122 'arts.' A few months after I arrived Queen Salote died, which placed
765 both dance and tapa making under tapu. This tapu officially lasted
766 six months, but in effect really lasted for a year. Although my
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[535]
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122 specific research died under me, so to speak, this did not prove to be
765 an insurmountable problem. After a month or so, some of my informants
766 784 were willing to teach me some dances and were willing to talk about
122 dance. In some ways this was an advantage, for if I wanted to know
124 how to do something, they could not tell me to go and look at a
performance, but had to demonstrate instead.

122 The last nation-wide celebration with dance performance was in
535 1962. It is not very often that a large-scale celebration is held, so
541 the Queen's death was not the only reason that I could not observe one.
I did, however, miss the minor dance performances which would have been
123 held if the Queen had not died during my residence. Fortunately,
during my first field trip and the first three months of my second
field trip I did see performances of all the dance genres. I also
learned to perform a dance of each genre. From observation, participation, and persistent questioning my research has enabled me to
delineate the structure of Tongan dance and its function in the
society.

121 Many other aspects of life were studied that will not be
presented here. A good deal of my time was occupied with gathering
126 of texts that dances accompany. These texts are not written down but
[122] are reconstructed each time they are to be performed by the people who
know them, and it was particularly difficult to gather these people
together especially when it was tapu to sing dance songs. These texts
[128] are very important in ascertaining the meaning of the dance. The

126 gathering, translation and search for meaning of these texts were
128 probably the most frustrating aspects of my research. (See Kaeppler
121 1967a for an interpretation of one of these texts.) I also worked
123 on the interrelations between tapa design, the dances, and their texts,
and I was instructed in the making of tapa, mats, and other kinds of
122 plaiting. Actually, it was my good fortune to be in Tonga at the time
of the funeral and mourning ceremonies of the Queen. These were not
only illuminating in themselves but gave me insights into aspects of
121 culture that I might otherwise have missed. Throughout my research,
181 no matter what aspects of culture I examined, the fundamental theme
of social organization always arose. Language, material culture,
dance, religion--all referred ultimately to the fundamental emphasis
of this society on its socio-political system.

61: Käeppler E-5 (1964-1967) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

CHAPTER III

DANCE AND A METHOD FOR ITS DESCRIPTION

THE DOMAIN OF DANCE IN TONGA

128 At the outset it is necessary to define precisely what is meant by dance and how the Western concept compares with the Tongan.

192 Let us begin with the term *faiva*. *Faiva* is defined by Churchward
535 as a noun meaning, "work, task, feat or game, etc., requiring skill or
ability; trade, craft; performance, play, drama, item (at a concert,
etc.); entertainment; film, moving picture" (1959, p. 23). Baker
defines *faiva* as, "calling, occupation, anything at which a man is
123 clever" (1897, p. 31). However, while I was in Tonga I was always
described by Tongans to each other as '*ta'ahine ako faiva*,' that is,
'the girl who is learning *faiva*.' Then they would enumerate the kinds
of *faiva* that I already knew something about or just what sort of
129 *faiva* I was interested in. When I was just beginning to learn Tongan,
192 I told people I was interested in learning *me'e* which Churchward gives
535 as the translation for dance (along with *hulohula* which means ball-
room dancing). This confused my informants because *me'e* includes
only certain kinds of 'dances' and it is not a term that is generally
used today. I listened to their conversations until I discovered
that they were translating 'dance' as *faiva* and then qualifying it by
either listing one or more kinds of *faiva* or saying that I did the
192 *haka* well. *Haka* is an intransitive verb meaning, "to move the hands
535 rhythmically, esp. while singing." The reduplicated form *hakahaka*

[p. 26]

121 pattern or regularity, a productive procedure is to isolate the smallest significant units, kinemes, and then to analyze what is done with them to build a totality (dance). It is also desirable to know if, and at what stage of combination of the kinemes meaning is communicated. In a dance tradition where several parts of the body move at once the most economic procedure is to analyze each gross part of the body separately. Then we must find what are the various significant elements for each of these parts of the body. Once this has been determined the contrasting features of the kinemes can be delineated. Eventually a chart of the kinemes can be made. Such charts are potentially useful for cross-cultural comparison. In order to isolate kinemes the first step is observation and comparison of movements in different contexts. The next step is to find by experimenting which differences in movement--etic differences--are recognized as significantly different by the people themselves and which are considered only variants of the same movement.

123 In the field I first watched whole dances to find what parts of the body and sections of the parts moved and what sorts of movements these were. Next I tried to watch certain individuals do the same movements over and over. This was accomplished by having people teach me dances and thus they had to do the movements repeatedly. In this way I learned how much the movement varied as done by one person (personal variation). Then I tried to see several people do the same dance or dances of the same genre that would use the same

123 kind of movements. From this I learned how much variation there was from individual to individual (interpersonal variation). A combination of these two types of variation gave me a chance to see the same movement performed in several contexts (contextual variation). After I learned the movements I performed them in what I considered to be correct and incorrect ways. My 'teachers' would correct versions that were not acceptable. From this I learned that the amount of variation allowed is different in different dance genres.

128 In summary then, my procedure was to make observations, to form hypotheses about what was significant in the performance, and finally to test the hypotheses, verifying, modifying, or rejecting them. This was not possible for each kineme individually, but I tried to follow these steps whenever I could. From these steps and further analysis I have isolated the gross and lesser body parts used in Tongan dance and abstracted the smallest significant units of the movement system. 121 These significant units are here termed kinemes which include positions as well as small units of motion. The kinemes include only the contour of movement. Timing is not part of their definition, because the timing of a kineme can vary and still be considered the 'same.'

Kinemes are arrived at by a contrastive analysis similar to the process of arriving at phonemes. That is, the significant element is whether a kineme is perceived as the 'same or different' as another kineme--that is, if it contrasts. Actual physiological differences

535 Let us look at some of the body parts separately.

Torso

535 Occasionally in Tongan dance the torso twists but this is not
123 considered significant or emic to the Tongans, which is shown by the
fact that when I would perform for my teachers varying only the
rotation of the body or torso they would say that the performances
were the 'same.' On the other hand if I would vary foot or arm
movements I was corrected immediately. Movements of the torso may
make a performance more aesthetically pleasing but they do not make
it right, wrong, or diffetent. Such movements can tell us something
about the dancer but not about the dance. The torso movement has no
name and I had a difficult time trying to make my informants under-
535 stand what I was referring to. Perhaps this movement is not recog-
nised as significant because it is not part of the indigenous move-
ment system, it being used usually only in the contemporary dance
types. Indeed many Tongans do not even consciously perceive it,
just as Americans are seldom conscious of the sound of glottal stops.

Head

Head movement is of a different order. Head movement adds style
to a dance, makes a dance more aesthetic, and differentiates good
dancers from poor dancers. However, it is accepted as fact that head
movements should be included, and a rendition which uses the head
535 differs from one that does not use the head. In fact, it was when I
123 used my head in the prescribed way that my teachers were most pleased.

595 [129] It was quite often the aspect of head movement that they talked about when speaking of my progress with each other (for example, "ta'ahine poto fakateki" which means 'clever at moving the head'). There are two types of head movement but only one of them is emic. The emic head movement listed below as a kineme is named, fakateki, which gives evidence that it is recognized as a movement.

Hips

In Tongan dance the hips do not move in a way that is significant or emic to Tongans. However, there is a natural movement of the hips following the leg movements. In the case of the hips, absence of exaggerated movement is considered significant. In fact at one very high level of contrast in which Tongan dance is distinguished from non-Tongan dance, the principle or dimension of contrast is hip movement.

Three body parts have significance to a structural analysis of Tongan dance. Motions and positions which derive from use of the head, legs, and especially of the arms will be used in analyzing the formal structure of Tongan dance at the kineme level.

Head Kineme

The first part of the body to be considered for emic significance is the head. There is only one head kineme that has such significance and this is a tilt where the head moves quickly to the right side.
595 The head will be labeled 'H' to abbreviate 'head.' The subscript $_1$
126 denotes the occurence of the side tilt.
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535 Teunga

[538] This motif is usually used when *teunga* meaning 'garments' or wearing apparel, are referred to in poetry. *Teunga* consists of a performance of M.I.c.6. with one arm and then M.I.c.6. with the other arm.

'Ofa; Loto

[826] *'Ofa* means 'love' and *loto* is the seat of one's affection. In the Tongan view of the world both of these concepts center on the [538] chest. When either *'ofa* or *loto* in poetry is to be expressed by *haka*, it is done by touching the chest. This can be done in a variety of of ways, but perhaps the best liked is to touch the chest first with one hand, then the other, and finally with both. The touch is a touch of the first pad of the fingers, and may be two, three, or four [129] fingers. *'Ofa* or *loto* do not name the movement. If I would demonstrate the movement, however, and ask for a term, the answer would often be *'ofa* or *loto* meaning that this movement sometimes interprets these poetic concepts. The motif consists of M.I.c.8. followed by M.I.c.5.

Touching Motifs

Touching motifs consist of various combinations of clapping or touching the hand to other parts of the body. The two kinds of clap have different kinds of sound, thus the type of clap may depend on the kind of sound that is desired or it may depend on the kind of

535 Music for the tau'olunga is Western acculturated. Guitar and
533 'ukulele, using chords derived from Western music, form the musical
177 background for the singing, which also employs Western intervals and
harmony.

Though originally the model for tau'olunga songs may have come from church hymns, a more recent model is rock-and-roll songs. Tongans take great delight in fitting tau'olunga poetry to melodies heard on the radio. These melodies may be heard only once or twice and the remembered version that is eventually fitted to a tau'olunga often has little resemblance to the original, especially when added to the Tongan preference for singing harmony rather than melody. In music as in poetry, the obvious is hidden--that is, they allude to the melody by singing the harmony. Perhaps we can compare the result to the 'silent theme' tradition or 'bebop' school of American jazz--though we do not hear the melody, we can 'feel' that the melody is
535 there. On one occasion I was taking a rather long time to learn a
533 tau'olunga song. One of my informants told me that she couldn't
177 understand why I had so much trouble when the melody was an American
123 rock-and-roll song called "Honey, Honey." She then sang what she
considered to be an English rendition of the song--which I admit could have been a rock-and roll song, but, unfortunately, I didn't know it.

533 Songs that are associated with tau'olunga dancing are called
535 hiva kakala, 'sweet songs,' and are composed for singing rather than

121 The units derived at the third, motif, level are similar to motif components as used in folklore and the visual arts. Their method of derivation, however, is different. Whereas, in folklore, for example, a motif is "any one of the parts into which an item of folklore can be analyzed" (Thompson 1950, p. 753), in the method used here a motif is built up out of smaller movement units.

The final level of Tongan dance was based on ethno-semantic categories. These named categories, or genres, were found to be different combinations of structural elements from the lower three levels of dance organization and elements external to dance movement.

These four levels were found to account for all the relevant data in Tongan dance, but it must be emphasized that these levels of organization are specific to, and valid for, this system alone. Each dance tradition must be analyzed in terms of itself. It is conceivable that a dance tradition could have only two levels or five levels or more. The kinemic and morphokinemic levels, I suspect, are the most universal and can be derived for any movement system, but the higher levels of organization are more dependent on the external cultural system.

Though I have claimed that the movements presented are known to the Tongans themselves, I do not imply that I have presented what
124 goes on inside the natives' heads. The information was not derived
126 by asking hypothetical questions, and in many cases was not verbal
123 at all. Movements were derived mainly in terms of motion, the

124 verbalised level being only if movements were the same, different,
126 or variants, and how they could be designated.

123 I have not presented all Tongans' view of dance, or one Tongan's
121 view of dance, or even an agreement of several Tongans' view of dance.
535 Any of these three would be impossible in Tonga. Very few Tongans
have seen all dance types and even fewer can perform all of them.
[644] Those who know the most about dance are the people who live in
Lapaha where all six types of dance are performed--but not by all the
124 people. This method can be criticized on the the grounds that I have
used so-called 'well-informed informants,' and it is true that I have.
But this was necessary, as only individuals who were sufficiently
familiar with a genre were able to tell me what dimensions were
emically relevant within it.

121 The method does not disregard ambiguity, but emphasizes that ambiguity exists. There is variation in all the kinemes, and the boundaries between some are arbitrary. This is complicated by the fact that, especially for arm positions, what contrasts in one dance genre might not contrast in another dance genre.

The units were derived by observing what dancers did, asking them what they did, forming hypotheses about what was significant, and testing the hypotheses by performing. The elements that were claimed by Tongans to be insignificant, however, were not disregarded, but an attempt was made to present them without violating the Tongans' concepts about their dance as far as these could be ascertained, this will be an indication that the basic fabric of their culture and society has shifted.

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NOTES

1. This is a revised version of a paper presented at the Third Annual Meeting of the Association for Socail Anthropology in Oceania (March 13-17, 1974) for a Symposium on "Alcohol and Kava Use in the Pacific Islands." Research was conducted in Tonga from July to October of 1970 and from August to October of 1971. In the intervening months archival research was conducted in the major libraries of Fiji, New Zealand, and Australia, with most of the research being done in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia.

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2. There is at least one other alcohol-dispensing club in the Kingdom, namely the "Vava'u Club" in Vava'u. Since my work in Tonga a new hotel has opened in Vava'u, and alcohol prices probably follow the prices of the hotels on Tongatapu. It should be pointed out that in 1970 and 1971 the various clubs and hotels were selling beverages in obvious violation of Tonga's "Blue Laws" which (theoretically) forbid essentially all non-religious business activities on Sundays.

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3. For further information on rank and title see Urbanowicz 1973.114.

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4. Tongans not only presented *kava* roots to important individuals but also took *kava* roots on visits to important places. The Wesleyan Missionary W. Cross, in the islands from 1827 to 1833 and again from 1834 to 1835, pointed this out: "The [Tongan] Chief observed that on former occasions when they visited and [*sic.*] island it was their custom to take large pieces of *kava* for the gods; and that to Nomuka alone they used to take at least 10 pieces" (Cross 1830b).

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5. A similar detailed description from Hobbs supports the idea of title removal and land distribution at a kava ceremony: "A 'fai Kava' i.e. meeting for drinking Kava took place at Nuku'alofa on Tuesday the 18th at which [Jiosaia] Tubou presided of course as the Tui-kanokubolu. Taufa-ahou [also known as King George Tupou] and all the other principal persons were there, and word was sent to Lavaka at the Bea to come and attend before our people and Taufa-ahou left the Island, but Lavaka [still] refused. The ceremony therefore proceeded without Lavaka. THE PRINCIPAL OBJECT OF THE KAVA MEETING WAS TO STATE OFFICIALLY FROM THE TUI-KANOKUBOLU WHO WAS THE[N] [TO] OCCUPY THE GOVERNMENT IN THE DIFFERENT DISTRICTS IN TONGA since the rebellion; and the principal things affected by this appointment are as follows: Old Fatu who was the 1st heathen [or non-Wesleyan] chief who submitted, and who had now come to Nukualofa to the Tui-kanokubolu has got a considerable augmentation of his power in being appointed Tui-Hahake. OLD LAVAKA IS OFFICIALLY DEPRIVED OF ALL HIS POWER BY THE APPOINTMENT OF OLD SEMI AND FOKE as Tuihaamea, because the fortress at the Bea stands in Haamea" [all STRESS added] (Hobbs *Journal*: April 22, 1837).

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6. I witnessed a *Taumafa kava* ceremony on the island of 'Eua over the period 14 September to 17 September, 1971, having travelled to the island with the royal part on *H.M.V. Kao*. Enroute to 'Eua from the island of Tongatapu, a journey of some four hours, I was fortunate to have approximately a three hour and forty-five minute private discussion with His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV (on just about everything under the Tongan sun, including *kava*). Much of my thinking about *kava* has been influenced by my discussions with His Majesty AS WELL AS by numerous discussions with other Tongans, of all ranks. I also took part in numerous kava ceremonies in Tonga occasionally where I was treated as the guest of honor.

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7. The *'inasi* ceremony was not only an important ceremony in aboriginal Tongan society but it also had parallels in other parts of Polynesia (Goldman 1970 134; and Sahlins 1958.24-25). The Tongans were a horticultural people and indeed, today, agriculture along with "tourism" are the mainstays of the Tongan economy. The yam

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of Velata the feats of a warrior named Tu'uhetoka of Ha'afeva, another 173
island of Ha'apai, who was considered by others to be one of the most out- 669
standing heroes. Naturally they sang the praises of their own two warriors,
and said that after one skirmish Tāufa'āhau (King George) came and found
Tu'uhetoka standing among a group of dead enemy warriors whom he
claimed he himself had killed, but who, according to the 'Uiha people,
were killed by another outstanding warrior named Puakatau whom Tu'uhe-
toka had himself killed out of jealousy.

In 1965 I visited the island of Lifuka where this war took place, and 123
was taken by the local people to what remains of the fortress of Velata itself,
as well as to the historic tracts of land surrounding it. My local informants
told me the names of these tracts of land (*api*) and also how these names 124
had arisen. One story was about Tu'uhetoka. They said that at the peak of 173
a skirmish in which Tāufa'āhau and some of his men were being over- 669
powered a warrior of outstanding calibre among the men of Ha'afeva inter-
vened, and with a rare display of skill and courage, he and Tāufa'āhau 643
ploughed their way through *Tu'i Tonga*'s warriors, felling scores of them 726
with their clubs while the rest fled. Watching this warrior's heroic perform-
ance, Tāufa'āhau was said to have remarked that he was like a gigantic fish
chasing a shoal of small fish. After the final victory Tāufa'āhau bestowed 173
upon him the name Tu'uhetoka (meaning 'standing in the face of defeat') 729
and gave him a sizeable portion of land at Lifuka, just alongside his own, and 643
called it Ikalahi (big fish) in memory of his gallantry. Later he was given the 553
island of Ha'afeva as his estate (*tofi'a*),[8] and the name Tu'uhetoka became a 103
noble title. 565

I found oral traditions a useful supplement to written sources. Care 173
needed to be taken, however, that the oral traditions were in fact genuine 124
and not distorted versions of written accounts. I was able to detect a few 121
cases where people claimed to have oral knowledge which turned out to be
spurious. When I was at 'Uiha I asked the old men about a certain tradition 124
which existed there. After a while they became uncertain and said that Mr
So-and-so, who was not present, knew all about it. Consequently we sent for
him. He was a school teacher in his early 50s, who was able to read English
books haltingly. What he had to tell turned out to be based on what he had
read in a collection of tales written for schools. However the genuine oral 114
traditions proved to be a valuable check on the reliability of written sources. 121
An example of this may be seen in the account of the destruction of the fort- 797
ress, god houses and effigies of 'Uiha. Bishop Blanc has the following 798
account in his history of Tonga: 643

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[8] S. Latukefu, 'Church and State in Tonga', Ph.D. thesis, Australian National University (Canberra, 1967), 192. 113

[xvii cont.]

000 which voyages of discovery are carried on (8), the nation which favours these enterprizes is amply repaid by the benefit derived to
123 our fellow-creatures. I cannot help thinking that our late voyage
136 [xviii] would reflect immortal honour on our employers, if it had no other merit than stocking Taheitee with goats, the Friendly Isles and New Hebrides with dogs, and New Zeeland and New Caledonia with hogs.
000 It is therefore sincerely to be wished, that voyages of discovery, upon a disinterested plan, may still be prosecuted with vigour, as much remains to be done, even in the South Sea; unless it should be in the power of illiberal men to defeat the great and generous views of a monarch, who is justly called the patron of science. A single remark, which may be of extensive use to posterity; a single circumstance, which may make happy our fellow-creatures in those remote parts of the world, repays the toils of the navigation, and bestows that great reward, the consciousness of good and noble actions.

London,
March 1, 1777. G. Forster

[122] 8. The whole expence of the voyage in which I embarked did not excceed[a] the sum of 25000 l. including all extraordinary disbursements.

[pp. 1-417 not processed]

[a] [sic! ... Analyst]

[425 cont.]
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609 hesitation, and one of these seemed to be a chief, or a man of some
565 [431] quality, and was accordingly treated with a number of presents,
[201] which he severally laid on his head, when he received them, saying
fagafetai every time. Our English cloth and linen he admired most,
and iron wares in the next degree. His behaviour was very free and
unconcerned; for he went down into the cabin, and whereever[A] we
175 thought fit to conduct him. He likewise told us, upon our enquiry,
101 that the island near which we lay at anchor, (the same which
124 Tasman called Middleburg) was called Ea-Oowhe among his country-men;
and that the [426] other to the north (or Tasman's Amsterdam island)
bore the name of Tonga-Tabboo. We consulted several of the natives,
in order to have greater certainty on this point, and always
received the same names in answer.

175 After breakfast, the captains went on shore with us and the
123 chief, who had continued on board all that time. A bed of coral
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123 rocks surrounded the coast, towards the landing-place; but many
609 canoes occupied the deep channels between these rocks, and a great
[133] number of inhabitants in them as well as on the shore, shouted for
[439] joy at our approach. The canoes immediately came along side the boat,
[431] and the natives threw great bales of cloth into it, without asking
for any thing in return; while many of both sexes swam about perfectly
naked, holding up some trifles, such as rings of tortoise-shell,
fish-hooks of mother of pearl, and the like, for sale. As soon as
we could make way through the throng of canoes, we approached as
near as possible to the shore, and were carried to it out of our boat,
175 for which the natives very readily offered their backs. The people
609 thronged about us with every expression of friendship, and offered
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[A] [*Sic*--Analyst.]

[427 cont.]

114 He [428] will [A] admire an elegant flowing robe which involves the whole
291 head and body, in an island where the women very rarely cover
302 the shoulders and breast; and he will be struck with awe and delight
by the figure of a divine old man, with a long white beard, though
all the people of Ea-oowhe shave themselves with muscle-shells.

175 We soon left the landing place, and followed the chief, who
123 invited us up into the country. The ground from the water's side
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311 rose somewhat steep for a few yards, above which it flattened into
a beautiful green lawn, surrounded by tall trees and tufted
175 shrubberies, and open only to the sea. At the bottom of it, which
342 might be about one hundred yards from the landing-place, we saw a
very neat well-looking house, of which the roof sloped down within
[123] two feet of the ground. We advanced across the delightful green,
which was so smooth, that it put us in mind of the finest spots in
England, and were entreated to sit down in the house, which was most
elegantly laid out with mats of the best workmanship. In one corner
of it we saw a moveable partition of wicker-work standing upright,
and, from the signs of the natives collected, that it separated their
[824] bed-place. The roof, sloping down on all sides, was formed of
a great number of spars and round sticks very firmly connected, and
covered with a sort of matting made of banana leaves.

175 [429] We were no sooner seated in the house, surrounded by a
533 considerable number of natives, not less than a hundred, than two
[609]
[123] or three of the women welcomed us with a song, which, though exceed-
[171] ingly simple, had a very pleasing effect, and was highly musical
when compared to the Taheitian songs. They beat time to it by
snapping the second finger and thumb, and holding the three remaining

[A] [Forster is critiquing an illustration in Cook's published account—Analyst.]

[430 cont.]

175 made of reeds, diagonally plaited in an elegant taste. A door,
351 417 which consisted of several boards, and was hung on a rope instead
175 of hinges, gave admittance into a plantation on each side. We
123 separated, in order to examine this beautiful country, and at
175 every step had reason to be well pleased with our discoveries. The
351 door was so contrived as to shut after us without any assistance,
137 [417] and the enclosures were over-run with climbers, and especially a
bind-weed, having flowers of a beautiful sky-blue. The prospect
now changed into an extensive garden, where we saw a number of
tufted shaddock-trees, tall coco-palms, many bananas, and a few
bread-fruit trees. In the midst of this spot the path led us to a
dwelling-house, like that on the lawn, surrounded by a great variety
[126] of shrubs in blossom, whose fragrance filled the air. We roamed
through [431] these bushes, and collected a variety of plants which
175 we had never met with in the Society Isles. The inhabitants seemed
123 to be of a more active and industrious disposition than those of
609 [181] Taheitee, and instead of following us in great crouds wherever we
[171] went, left us entirely by ourselves, unless we entreated them to
accompany us. In that case we could venture to go with our pockets
open, unless we had nails in them, upon which they set so great a
175 value that they could not always resist the temptation. We passed
351 through more than ten adjacent plantations or gardens, separated
361 by enclosures, communicating with each other by means of the doors
before mentioned. In each of them we commonly met with a house,
175 of which the inhabitants were absent. Their attention to separate
181 their property seemed to argue a higher degree of civilization than
[171] we had expected. Their arts, manufactures, and music were all more

[440 cont.]

175 by it in the most shocking manner; there was only a hole left in the
164 place of her nose; her cheeks were swelled up and continually
oozing out a purulent matter; and her eyes seemed ready to fall out
[439] of her head, being bloody and sore. These were some of the most
miserable objects I recollect ever to have seen; and yet they seemed
to be quite unconcerned about their misfortunes, traded as briskly
as any of the rest, and what was most nauseous, had provisions to
sell.

175 After dinner Dr. Sparrman remained on board with me, in order
122 to arrange our acquisitions of the morning, and my father again
[126] accompanied the captains to the shore, with a view to collect a fresh
supply. They returned about sunset, and my father gave the following
account of this excursion.

175 "At the landing-place the natives welcomed us with shouts as in
439 the morning, and the croud being as numerous as ever, the trade was
carried on very briskly, but provisions were scarce, and shaddocks in
particular not at all to be had, as the season was not yet sufficiently
175 advanced. Mr. Hodges, myself, and one servant, left the trading-place with
123 [441]two of the natives, whom we engaged to become our guides in
case of necessity, and walked up the hill to view the interior part
175 of the country. Our walk lay through a number of rich plantations or
311 gardens, enclosed as before mentioned with fences of reeds, or with
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137 quick-hedges of the beautiful coral flower, (erythrina corallodendron.)
175 Beyond these we entered into a lane between two enclosures, and
311 observed bananas and yams planted in rows on both sides, with as much
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[244] order and regularity as we employ in our agriculture. This lane
[245] opened into a fine extensive plain, covered with rich grasses. Having

[442 cont.]

175 764 the bottom of which we perceived a little mount with two huts
[487] upon it. A number of reeds stuck into the ground, at the distance
[417] of one foot asunder, encompassed this rising, and several
[137] casuarinas, with their slender branches and thread-like leaves,
were planted before it. The natives, whom we had engaged to
accompany us, would not approach this mount; but we advanced and
looked into the huts, though with great difficulty, because the
bottom of the roof was not above a span from the ground. We found
a corse in one of these huts, which had been lately deposited; but
175 the other was [443] empty. Thus the casuarina or club-wood (toa),
764 here, as in the Society Islands, pointed out the repositories of the
137 171 dead. Its dull brownish-green colour, and its long spreading branches,
where the leaves are thinly scattered and hang weeping down,
certainly become these melancholy places to the full as well as the
175 funereal cypress. It is therefore probable that the same train of
764 ideas, which consecrated the latter in one part of the world to shade
181 the tombs, might fix upon the former in these regions for a similar
175 purpose. The mount on which the huts were placed was formed of
764 small pieces of coral rock, like gravel, accumulated without any
175 particular order. From thence we proceeded a little farther, and
311 still found the same elegant plantations and the same kind of houses
361 in the middle as before. Our natives conducted us through one of
175 609 them, where they entreated us to sit down, and procured some coco
175 nuts, which proved extremely refreshing. At our return we found
● 123 our boats just ready to put off, and embarked with them immediately.
[609] We had only seen a few of the natives on our walk, who passed unconcernedly by us towards the place where the captains traded; and

[443 cont.]

175 I believe we should have been entirely left to ourselves if we had
123 609 not engaged two of them to become our conductors. The discharge of
our guns, and their effect, neither excited their admiration nor
their fear; but they always appeared kind and courteous towards us.
175 Their women were, in general, [444] reserved, and turned with
609 disgust from the immodest behaviour of ungovernable seamen, some of
832 them however appeared to be of easy virtue, and beckoned to our
people with lascivious gestures."

175 The next morning early the captain went on shore with us,
124 and presented the chief with a variety of garden seeds, explaining
431 by signs how useful they would prove to him. This was as yet our
175 124 only mode of conversation, though we had picked up a number of words,
197 which, by the help of the principles of universal grammar, and the
idea of dialects, we easily perceived had a great affinity with the
[114] language spoken at Taheitee and the Society Isles. O-Mai and
Mahine (or O-Hedèedee,) the two natives of Raietea and Borabora
who embarked with us, at first declared that the language was totally
new and unintelligible to them; however, when we explained to them
the affinity of several words, they presently caught the peculiar
modification of this dialect, and conversed much better with the
natives than we could have done after a long intercourse with them.
175 They were extremely well pleased with this country, but soon perceived
433 it defects, and told us there was but scanty provision of bread-fruit,
[231] few hogs and fowls, and no dogs, which was really the case. In return,
[276] however, they liked the abundance of sugar-canes and of intoxicating
[609] pepper, of which the drink had been offered to captain Cook.

[452 cont.]

175
764 surrounded with the finest groves. That which I have here described,
114 was drawn by Mr. Hodges, and an exact representation of it is inserted
126 in captain Cook's own account of this voyage.

175 We continued our walk through the plantations, and met with
123 very few inhabitants, they being almost all gone towards the trading-
175 place. Those we saw passed by us, or continued their occupations
123 without stopping on our account. Neither curiosity, nor distrust
609 and jealousy excited them to prohibit our farther progress; on the
contrary, they always spoke in a kind tone to us, which sufficiently
175 characterized their disposition. We looked into many of the houses
351
184 and found them empty, but always laid out with mats, and delightfully
[352 situated among odoriferous shrubs. Sometimes they were separated
[123
[417 from the plantations by a little fence, through which a door, like
those of Ea-oowhe, gave admittance, which could be shut on the inside.
In that case only the area,,which this fence enclosed around the
hut, was planted with the odoriferous grove, which is so much in
175 request with the natives. A walk of three [453] miles brought us to
133 the eastern shore of the island, where it forms a deep angle, which
Tasman called Maria Bay. Where we fell in with it, the ground sloped imperceptibly into a sandy beach; but as we walked along towards the north point, we found it rose perpendicularly, and in some places it was excavated and overhanging. It consisted, however, entirely of coral, which is a strong proof of some great change on our globe, as this rock can only be formed under water. Whether it was left bare by a gradual diminution of the sea, or perhaps by a more violent revolution which our earth may formerly have suffered, I shall not venture to determine. So much, however, may be assumed as a certainty,

[453 cont.]

175 that if we suppose a gradual diminution of the sea, at the rate
133 which they pretend to have observed in Sweden (14), the emersion of
this island must be of so modern date, that it is matter of astonishment how it came to be covered with soil, herbage, and forests; so
well stocked with inhabitants, and so regularly adorned as we really
175 found it. We picked up a quantity of shells at the foot of the steep
126 rock, where we sometimes waded in water to the knees upon a reef, on
175 account of the flood tide which was advancing. We likewise met with
439 several natives returning from the trading-place, who sold us a
[286 number of fish-hooks and ornaments, a fish-net made like our casting-
nets, knit of very firm though slender threads, some [454] mats and
[292 pieces of cloth. We likewise purchased of them an apron, consisting
[531 of many wheels or stars of plaited coco-nut fibres, about three or
[286 four inches in diameter, cohering together by the projecting points,
and ornamented with small red feathers and beads cut out of shells.
175 Finding that the water encreased too fast upon us, we looked out
● 123 for an ascent to the top of the rock, and having with some difficulty
241 found one, we re-entered the plantations, where we observed the weeds
175 rooted out with great care and laid in heaps to dry. After a long
123 walk, during which we missed our way, and engaged one of the natives
to become our guide, we entered a long narrow lane between two fences,
which led us directly to the Fayetòoca or burying-place we had left
before. Here we found captains Cook and Furneaux, and Mr. Hodges,
[565 with a great number of natives, seated on the fine lawn. They were
in conversation with an old blear-eyed man, who had a good deal of
weight among the rest of the people, and was always accompanied

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14. See the Memoirs of the Swedish Academy of Sciences at Stockholm.

175 [454 cont.]
123 by a number of them wherever he went. We were told that he had
565 conducted our gentlemen to two fayetòocas, and had pronounced a
[788] solemn speech or prayer, with his face directed to the building,
but at times turning to captain Cook, and addressing the words to
him, in a questioning tone. In these moments he always made a short
pause, as if he expected an answer, and seeing a nod ensue, proceeded
175 with his speech. Sometimes, however, his memory [455] seemed to fail,
565 upon which he was prompted by another man who sat near him. From
this ceremony, and the place where it was performed, we conjectured
175 that he was a priest. However, as far as we could see into their
771 religious notions, it did not appear that they practised any kind
171 of idolatry; neither did they seem to have any particular veneration
for birds like the Taheitians, but to worship a supreme invisible
[764] Being. What may have induced them, as well as the people of Taheitee
and the Society Isles, to unite their repositories of the dead and
000 their places of worship in one, remains in obscurity. The religious
tenets of a people are the last things which strangers become acquainted with, whose knowledge of the language is commonly too
imperfect. Besides this, the dialect of the church frequently differs
from the common dialect, and thus religion is veiled in mysteries,
especially where there are priests to take advantage of the credulity
of mankind.

175 From this place we returned to the sea shore, where a brisk
439 trade for vegetables, fowls, and hogs was carried on. Here we bought
[293] a large flat shield or breast-plate, of a roundish bone, white and
[237] polished like ivory, about eighteen inches in diameter, which appeared
000 to have belonged to an animal of the cetaceous tribe. We likewise

[471 cont.]

175 171 and Le Maire's circumstantial narratives, the natives of Horne Island
304 were as submissive to their king as those of Tonga-Tabboo. The
565 000 experience of the superior power of the strangers, made them respectful even to servility towards the Dutch; their king prostrated himself
before a Dutch purser and their chiefs placed their necks under his
175 foot (23). These excessive marks of submission seem to border upon
meanness and cowardice; but we never had reason to suppose them
175 tinctured with these vices. Their behaviour towards us was commonly
181 accompanied with that freedom and boldness which the rectitude of
609 intentions [472] inspires; and though really polite, was never unbecoming.
Here, however, as in all other societies of men, we found exceptions
to the general character, and had reason to lament the behaviour of
175 vicious individuals. Dr. Sparrman and myself having left the beach
123 where the Latoo attracted the attention of all our people, entered
the wood in pursuit of farther discoveries in our branch of science.
[124] The first discharge of my fowling-piece at a bird brought three
natives towards us, with whom we entered into conversation, as far
as our superficial knowledge of their tongue would permit. Soon after,
Dr. Sparrman stepped aside into a thicket in search of a bayonet,
175 which he had lost from the end of his musket. One of the natives,
123 finding the temptation of the moment irresistible, grasped my fowling-
648 piece, and struggled to wrest it from me. I called to my companion,
and the two other natives ran away, unwilling to become accomplices
in this attack. In the struggle our feet were entangled in a bush,
and we both fell together; but the native, seeing he could not gain
his point, and perhaps dreading the arrival of Dr. Sparrman, got up

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181 23. See Mr. Dalrymple's Historical Collection of Voyages in the Pacific Ocean, vol. II. p. 41.

[472 cont.]

175 123 before me, and took that opportunity of running off. My friend
[648] joined me immediately; and we concluded, that if there was
something treacherous or vicious in the behaviour of this fellow,
our separation was also imprudent, because it had furnished him
with an opportunity to exercise his talents. We continued strolling
about for some time, without [473] any sinister accident, and returned
to the trading-place on the beach, where we found almost all the
175 people whom we had left. Many of them were now seated in different
571 little groups, which appeared to be so many separate families, and
[517] consisted of persons of various ages and sexes. They were all in
conversation, of which no doubt the arrival of our ships furnished
the topics; and many of their women amused themselves either with
175 singing or playing at ball. There was a young girl in particular,
142 whose features were more regular than common, her eyes sparkling
302 with vivacity, her whole frame admirably proportioned, and, what
was most remarkable here, her long jetty hair hanging down in
175 graceful curls on her neck. This girl, lively and easy in all her
524 actions, played with five gourds, of the size of small apples,
perfectly globular; she threw them up into the air one after another
continually, and never failed to catch them all with great dexterity,
175 at least for a quarter of an hour. The musical ladies again performed
533 the same tune which we had already heard at Ea-oowhe, the different
184 voices falling in with each other very harmoniously, and sometimes
175 joining all together as in chorus. Though I never saw the natives
535 of these islands dance, yet we may add this amusement to the list
292 of those which they are acquainted with, from their own accounts
124 439 and gestures whenever they sold us their aprons made of stars of

175 [477 cont.]
181 to satisfy the most indispensible wants of nature, could make
642 them miserable. Be this as it may, so much seems to be certain,
651 that their systems of politics and religion, from their similarity
175 171 with the Taheitian, as far as we could judge, must have had one
174 common origin, perhaps in the mother country, from whence both
these colonies issued. Single dissonant customs, and opinions
may have acceded to the primitive ideas, in proportion as various
175 accidents, or human caprices have given rise to them. The
174 affinity of their languages is still more decisive. The greatest
197 part of the necessaries of life, common to both groups of islands,
the parts of the body, in short the most obvious and universal
ideas, were expressed at the Society and Friendly Isles nearly
175 by the same words. [478] We did not find that sonorousness in the
197 Tonga-Tabboo dialect, which is prevalent in that of Taheitee,
194 because the inhabitants of the former have adopted the F,K, and S,
so that their language is more replete with consonants. This
harshness is compensated however by the frequent use of the liquid
letters, L,M,N; and of the softer vowels E and I, to which we
must add that kind of singing tone, which they generally retain
even in common conversation.---But it is time to return from this
digression.

175 We did not part from our friends till sun-set, promising to
123 return to them once more the next morning. Our ships were well
122 175 provided with bananas, yams, and coco-nuts; and, considering the
small size of the island, as well as our short stay, sixty or eighty
hogs, besides a vast number of large fowls, were a surprising
[312] acquisition. During our stay we had searched the country in vain

121 125 involving residents of that village during the active research period.

121 124 125 A sample of adoption transactions was obtained in another village by an exhaustive sample of households. In each household the household head or his spouse was asked about the adoptive status of each of their children. Then information pertaining to the adoptive status of the household head and his siblings was obtained along with the same information for his spouse. The sample of adoptions and sample B discussed above provide the data for the behavioral patterns presented in Chapter VI. These samples will be more fully described where they are relevant to description or analysis.

[123] The conscious model of kinship reciprocity consists of data collected using the informal technique of participant-observation. In this case the conscious model was elicited again and again under various circumstances and from many different informants. The conscious model as presented in Chapter VI is a standardized version of ideals generally recognizable by members of the Tongan community. I think it safe to say that the conscious model is shared and accepted throughout Tongan society.

Field Techniques and Circumstances

114 101 Active research in the village selected as the research location began in December, 1970, and ended in September, 1971; throughout this period I had almost daily contact with the residents of this village. 123 I used the technique of participant-observation to collect data on several topics including social structure, kinship, subsistence, adop-

123 tion and fosterage, and interpersonal relationships generally.

125 Early in the research period a census of the village was conducted to obtain demographic information including data on housing, landholding status, and dominant economic pursuits for each household in the village.

124 123 Information on exchange events was collected by using formal survey techniques, but I might indicate here that survey research would have been difficult without first establishing myself as a rather consistent and benign part of the village milieu.[1] [A] Participant-observation also allowed me to observe much of the material I recorded through the surveys and thereby provided an informal check on reliability and validity of that information.[2] [B]

124 I do not pretend that the data on exchange events are perfectly accurate or representative of all exchanges. For instance, I know that informants failed to mention many exchange events which involved small, and what they considered to be insignigicant, items such as coconuts, salt, water and a number of other items; this was particularly true early in the research period. In fact, one household head was removed from the sample because he consistently gave information on only the exchange of large, prestigious items. Two others had to be deleted because of their absence during the research period.

114 122 124 114 115 During research an assistant acted as interpreter when necessary and provided valuable assistance in arranging transportation, interviews, and in establishing rapport with informants. I had two assistants during two different periods and found both to be willing and

A,B.[For footnotes, see p. 122--Analyst]

as an illustration of an attack that might well be more fruitful in other and 114
more competent hands.[3]

Dreams and Psychic Stress

Dreaming occurs fairly frequently among the villagers of Pangai. Men had 154
no hesitation in telling their dreams to us or else recording them for us. The
women, however, were much shyer and it was only by considerable perseverance [123]
that Pearl Beaglehole was able to record any dreams at all from women
informants. There is no reason for thinking that women dream less than men.
Many dreams seem to be in terms of conventional cultural symbols and are 154
given a conventional interpretation by the Tongans. Thus for a husband to 828
dream of money or a ring is a sign that his wife is pregnant. Dreams portending 787
death, usually of a member of the family or some other close relative, are
those of teeth falling out (said to be a common type of dream), dreams of
feces on the body, dreams of touching or handling a hen's egg.[4] Dreams of
approaching fire or of slipping down into a bottomless pit are terror dreams,
generally interpreted as warnings of possible punishment should the dreamer
continue to commit minor sinful acts. One informant also stated that dreams 154
could be used to validate medicinal recipes. His mother's father was visited 787
by a female spirit in a dream and given a successful recipe to cure barrenness 828
and sterility in women. 757

Wish-fulfilment dreams appear to be frequent and capable of easy interpretation. 154
The following are examples of this type of dream:

Case 1.—Avai, a boy of 18, home on vacation from a Seventh-Day Adventist 159
College in Nukualofa, reported to me several dreams in which "a girl friend"
appeared and offered herself to him in sexual intercourse. Tongan sexual [836]
morality among young people is relatively strict. Avai had previously been
asked to leave the Government College, Nukualofa, for absenting himself at [873]
night from the college. He had determined to reform, but the occurrence of
this type of dream suggests that his reforming zeal was not without its
intrapsychic conflict.

Case 2.—Loata, a woman of about 35, our next-door neighbor and one very poor, even according to Tongan standards, narrated the following dream to Pearl Beaglehole: "You brought me a beautiful new dress as a gift and also a lot of pins to fasten it together after it had been fitted. My daughter Saane (6 years old) ran away with the pins, and when I chased her she suddenly changed into Saane Tapaka (a girl of 18 employed by us as housegirl, with the same first name as the daughter—we had previously given Saane T. a dress). I could not catch her, and when I came back to my house to get the dress I found you had gone and the dress was nowhere to be found." This
dream is, I think, self-explanatory. Loata dressed for the most part in rags [291]
because her husband was too poor to buy new piece goods at the village store.

Case 3.—Kafa, a young woman of 18 years, married for two years without
yet becoming pregnant (a rarity in Tonga), confesses to many dreams in [842]
which she gives birth to and nurses an infant. She also dreams occasionally
that her husband, the local storekeeper and a hardworking man, has eloped

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[3] Field work on which this paper was based was carried out in Tonga, December, 1938,
to February, 1939. Pearl Beaglehole and I lived in the village of Pangai, Vava'u, a small [101]
Tongan community about six miles distant from Neiafu, government and trading center for Vava'u, the northern group of Tongan islands, 170 miles away by sea from Nukualofa, capital of the Tongan kingdom. The population of Pangai is about 270. Pearl Beaglehole helped me collect the material here recorded. Dr. J. C. Lopdell, Assistant Medical Officer, Vava'u, kindly gave me the information on which Case 10 (below) is based.

[4] E. W. Gifford, "Tongan Society," *Bishop Museum Bull.* 61, 1929, pp. 337–338, gives [113]
several further examples.

the mother far away in Tonga? ‘Aho‘eitu is her only son, so 276
she is being attacked and perhaps destroyed. But it is she who 574
tells ‘Aho‘eitu how to get to heaven in the first place. And what 539
of the link with the kava myth itself in which a daughter is 773
destroyed? Is it a daughter only or also a mother in disguise? 154

I do not think one can select any particular interpretation 121
as the ‘right’ one. None of them can be ‘proved’ or ‘disproved’,
at least not by the methods appropriate to the consulting-room,
nor by any other method that I could think of at the time.
In the consulting room, where the two partners to the relationship
are supposed to be discovering psychic truth, however
painful and improbable, one can make interpretations about
unconscious cannibalism or unconscious desires to castrate a
brother, and judge from the patient's reactions whether the
interpretations are close to home or wide of the mark. One
always has the transference situation, of which one has direct
experience, as a yardstick against which the manifest content
of the patient's material can be compared. In Tonga I was [123]
often aware of transference, especially of the more obvious
aspects of it: the attitude that I was a foreigner with whom a
cultural ‘front’ had to be kept up; attempts to ‘use’ me in one
way or another to gain some social end; the feeling that I was
a sympathetic outsider with whom emotional burdens could
be shared. But I never felt it appropriate to interpret the
transference. I found I was prepared to raise such issues as the
likelihood of hostility between rulers and subject, particularly
with a very secure and much-loved monarch, but I was not
prepared to try out interpretations of cannibalism or castration
with anyone, so unprepared, in fact, that I could hardly think
of such interpretations intellectually until I had left the field.
The social situation I was in did not sanction such endeavours.

From among the many possible interpretations, I have 276
emphasized the theme of cannibalism and reparation, of the 574
destruction and restoration of a brother/son, because it seemed 154
to me the most obvious, the most consistent with the events
and the status differentials of the ceremony, and the most in

115 128 University of the South Pacific, Suva, Fiji, who helped both in editing and in relieving me of some other responsibilities, which allowed me to devote time to completing this dissertation.

● 123 Deep gratitude and thanks is extended to the countless farmers, market vendors and other Tongans who, through their understanding, their cheerfulness and their willingness to share part of their lives and cultural hertage with me, made the research in Tonga one of the most enjoyable and enlightening years of my life.

128 114 Last but not least, is the deep appreciation I have for the help and understanding given unselfishly by my wife Konai, who, despite her heavy involvement in her own studies, teaching responsibilities and poetry writing, proof read countless pages, helped in the drawing of maps and gathering field data, and most of all, gave me encouragement and moral support throughout the past four years.

000 Finally, none of the above are responsible for any shortcomings in this work. I am alone responsible for the work which follows and for any inaccuracies which may be present.

/21 cont./

181 685 and can not be compared to conditions in Europe. The natives of the small villages are mostly very honest, (19)

181 123 685 19. During the author's stay on the islands and on numerous boat trips not a single article was stolen from his numerous and often open pieces of luggage; three coins that he was unaware of having lost on a boat trip were immediately returned to him. This behavior of the natives is in sharp contrast to the old sources (for example, J. Cook, loc, cit. p. 278/279; Voyage de Dentrecasteaux, loc. cit. p. 307/308; E.A.W. von Zimmermann, Australien ···nebst einer allgemeinen Darstellung des grossen Ozeans /Australia and a general description of the Pacific/ vol. I part 2. Hamburg 1810. p. 636) which emphasize the tendency of Tongans to steal from Europeans. In early times the powerful chiefs were probably a driving force in these offences, also sometimes offered the thiefs protection, and the widespread lust for the new European articles was very great and not yet suppressed by the influence of mission and government authority.

181 685 though now and then there are complaints about thefts of pigs and plantation thefts. As a rule, these are the only property offences in some places.

181 831 The sensuality characteristic of Polynesians (together with rather free attitudes towards sexual questions) which early observers, sometimes with certain reservations, also attributed to the Tongans (20)

(113) 20. For example, in A. Montanus, De Nieuwe en Onbekende Weereld /The new and unknown world/. Amsterdam 1671 p. 580; G. Forster, loc, cit. IV. p. 344.

is even today, despite 130 years of intensive and largely puritanical mission work, an essential characteristic of Tongan nature. (21)

21. For details see the chapter Liebesleben /Love life/ p. 106 ff.

/52 cont./

291 be uncomfortable. They adhere to this not so much because of the law, but because they realize that the shirt means civilization, an approximation of the respected world of the whites, and that the naked torso /53/ is something "barbaric." (129)

[126] [123] 129. The author had difficulty, in photographing Tongans, to persuade them to remove their shirts, for they did not want to look "like savages"; when they go fishing, many Tongans enter the water fully clothed, that is, with shirt and vala.

[186] [565] The vala owes its firmly entrenched position, however, not only to a certain national pride, but also to the fact that it has become an article of clothing of the commoners who were once underprivileged.

291 177 [752] The Tongans usually go barefoot, as in olden times. Some natives wear shoes after a foot injury, to let the wound heal, and today there are also some young Tongans on the small islands as well as in the seaports who wear white tennis shoes, only because they find it "nice," because it looks "European," whereas some employees in the government and in the large department stores like to wear leather sandals. Most Tongans also still go bareheaded. Only now and then they wear old felt hats, sun helmets and hats plaited of halved coconut palm leaves; (130) sometimes they also wrap a cloth around their heads as a protection against the sun, just as people formerly protected themselves against the sun's rays, for example, on the plantations and on the sea, with various kinds of head coverings. (131)

130. For example, simple-shaped hats that college students like to make, and others that imitate certain European models (tata faka-polisi=police caps, helemiti=sun helmets).

131. Cf. J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 280; J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 167; J. Dumont d'Urville, Voyage pittoresque... loc. cit. II. p. 78.

443 largest markets are Nuku'alofa in Tongatapu, Pangai in Ha'apai, and
[366] Neiafu in Vava'u. Such markets cater to two principal groups,
although many people travel to market to buy, sell, or socialize.
443 Those members of the non-Tongan population who do not lease land,
439 such as church facilities, and must purchase market food, represent
one group. Though not large in comparison to the Tongan population,
this group does contribute a significant cash input to the
443 local economy. The second group consists of landless Tongans and
those Tongans who do not farm or garden intensively and derive cash
income from other means.

Producers, or members of their families, most frequently sell
[512] directly to the consumer. Saturday is market day (although the
major markets carry some business throughout the week, except Sunday)
[427] and the market area becomes the center of urban activity. Individuals
having produce to sell may rent one of several types of stalls
443 or floor space, upon which to display their produce. The staple
438 foods (i.e., tubers, coconuts, and bananas) are the major items
sold, although other types of food produce and miscellaneous items,
443 such as shells, carvings, and handicrafts, are also available. Marketing
512 hours generally are from 8:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M., with the
busiest time being in the forenoon and early afternoon.

123 Personal observations, plus discussions with sellers,
124 revealed several marketing patterns. A few farmers or craftsmen
443 sell each day or week on a regular basis, and generally have rented
427 stalls which can be locked at the end of each day. Rental for these
[435] is on a monthly basis, and costs the producer eight dollars per
month.

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

137 These islands are remarkable for their fertility and the variety
134 of their vegetable productions, abounding in fruits indigenous to
tropical climates, such as the cocoa nut, bread fruit, banana, pine
137 apple, orange, citron, lime, custard apple, and others. Yams, melons,
and pumpkins are also very plentiful, and of excellent quality.

161 The population of all the groups is estimated by the missionaries
at about 50,000; that of the Island of Tongatabu is said to
162 be about 9000, of which 5000 are Protestants, 600 Roman Catho-
795 lics, the rest remain in their old faith.

643 The government of the islands is despotic, and not hereditary,
but elective in the royal family. The eldest son of the king does
[642] not necessarily succeed his father, but another may be chosen from
the sons of a former king, or a younger son may be elected before
an elder if he be thought to have more capacity for government.

644 There are some individuals connected with the priesthood, who
554 are considered superior in rank to the kings, and to whom the kings
[643] do homage. The Tamahá is one of these, and is considered to be
descended from the gods. The present Tamahá is a very old
woman, quite blind, who remembers the visits of Captain Cook,
and, although a Christian for many years, she still retains her rank
as the first person in the Tonga Islands.

643 George, the present King of the Friendly Islands, has only been
ruler over the whole of the three groups, composing them, since the
[634] year 1845. Before this he was King of the Haabai group only,
Josiah Tubou being King of Tonga, and Feenau King of Vavau.
When Feenau died, George became King of Vavau as well as
of Haabai, and Josiah, King of Tonga, dying in 1844, George
became Tui Kanokubolu, and now reigns over the whole of the
Friendly Islands. He has professed Christianity for about twenty-one
years.

122 The Meander, Captain Keppel, sailed from the Bay of Islands,
New Zealand, on the 10th of June, 1850.

At daylight in the morning of the 19th we made "Eua," an island situated on the eastern side of Tongatabu; and soon afterwards the tops of the cocoa-nut trees upon Tonga itself were seen along the horizon to the westward.

At 8·30 A.M. we fired two guns, and kept away N.W. by W., steering for an opening between Tongatabu and a small islet called in the chart Eua-Eki.

123 Upon nearing the eastern side of Tongatabu, very heavy rollers
were seen along the shore of the island, the surf upon the reefs being thrown up to a great height, the scrub being all beaten down, and the cocoa-nut trees appearing further inland than in other places. Seeing no canoes or natives, we fired a third gun, and shortened sail to topsails, sending up the colours and the signal for a pilot. Soon afterwards a canoe was observed coming off, and the ship

123
tacked to meet her. It[A] was about 15 feet in length, without any 501
carving or ornament, and having a single outrigger. There were
four natives in it, all naked with the exception of a little tappa, or 505
native cloth, wrapped round the waist, and reaching down to the [291]
knee. They came out against a heavy swell, often dashing right
through the crests of the waves, which at times broke completely
over them. They were talking to each other with great rapidity 123
and animation as they approached, and, as we looked at them, not 505
at all expecting to hear anything we should understand, one of 191
them hailed us in perfectly good English, "Square the main
yard!" As this had been already done some short time before
to allow the canoe to come up with us, this speech was no
doubt intended to show us how well he could speak English. A 505
rope being thrown over, one of them scrambled up the side, the
canoe pushing off again with the rest. The native who came on 142
board was a fine man about six feet in height, with really handsome
features, and a fine open expression that was quite prepossessing.
He was tatooed upon the breast and across the back of one hand, 304
and had lost one of his fingers. When he came on deck he announced
himself as a pilot, asked whether we were English or 502
French, and then pointed out the passage through the reefs to
the anchorage, watching the ship, and saying "very good," as she
came up to her course, and then, going forward, took up his station
on the bowsprit. The entrance to the anchorage is between a 502
mass of coral reefs and islets on the northern side of the island, and 133
is very narrow, but our native pilot showed the greatest coolness
and judgment in conducting us through it. Within the entrance 133
the anchorage spreads out into a bay with deep water right up to
the reef which skirts the shore.

Owing to the want of high ground there is nothing very striking [368]
in the appearance of the island, which from the sea forms a continuous
line of palms rising over a beach of coral, the highest part
being the small mount opposite the anchorage at Nu-ku-alófa, on
which stands the native church and a small stone, marking the
grave of Captain Croker, of H.M.S. "Favourite," who was killed
at Béa, in the island, in 1840. Upon the beach were some very 361
large sheds, and many pretty huts enclosed by neatly made fences.

When we had anchored, a whole fleet of small canoes, bringing 505
crowds of natives, came off to the ship. In the afternoon a party
was made up to go on shore. At the landing-place we were met 123
by a large troop, principally children and young women, with two [411]
or three young men, one of whom carried a bayonet fixed upon
the end of a pole. The women were dressed in short jackets of [291]
coloured cotton, with sleeves reaching down to the elbows, and
petticoats of tappa fastened round the waist. As we were going [797]
away to look for the houses of the missionaries, a native came

[A] [i.e., a Tongan canoe--Analyst.]

running up to tell us that they were on their way down, and 123
shortly afterwards we were met by two of these gentlemen, Mr. 797
Lawry and Mr. Amos, whom we accompanied to their houses.
The road lay between rows of very neatly made matted fencing, 363
by which the town was divided into regular lanes, shaded by the 137
cocoa-nut trees and bananas which grew on each side, forming 417
beautiful avenues over them. The missionaries had very neat 797
cottages with green lawns before them: and we recognized, 137
among many beautiful island plants, the rose and a variety of
English flowers, together with peas and other vegetables, all of
which appeared to thrive well. By the time we had made our 123
call here it became too late to see much more that night, and we
returned on board.

The following morning (June 20th) I accompanied Capt.
Keppel and a party to see an examination of the native school.
The scholars were all assembled upon a lawn within a fence, 877
which enclosed the school-houses and huts of the native teachers; 291
these were principally young women and girls—and like those we
had seen upon landing, wore a kind of upper body dress of
coloured cotton hanging loosely over the shoulders, with petti-
coats of tappa partly gathered into folds round the waist. Many [302]
had a species of convolvulus wound a great many times round the
waist, surrounding the body with a mass of leaves and flowers; [751]
and all had their skins rubbed over with cocoanut-oil, which they
use both as a protection from the sun, and because they think it
adds to their beauty. Most of them had cotton bags containing 877
their books and writing materials; and those who had not bags 415
carried them carefully wrapped in pieces of new tappa. They
were arranged in ranks placed so as to form three sides of a 872
square; and one of the missionaries, standing in the centre, 797
directed their movements by a whistle which he carried. At a
preparatory call all the monitors came out and stood apart from
the rest, and at a second signal they formed in line, and, led by the
missionary, started off at a moderately quick step; the rest of the
scholars falling in behind, all chanting at the same time in full
chorus, the procession winding backwards and forwards until they
formed a figure four deep. Other figures were then formed,
until a signal from the missionary called a halt, and they went
into the "Fále Lautóhi," or reading-room, a large house built in
the native style, where they sat down on the ground in six rows,
the young women and girls being placed in the middle lines. A 872
large number of the people attended, sitting on the ground
outside. The examination opened by the scholars singing a
hymn, then repeating portions of the Catechism, and going through
the Multiplication Table; reading chapters from the Bible, writ-
ing and geography also formed part of their exercises. In repeat-

ing the Multiplication Table they accompanied themselves by 872
clapping their hands in time to the words, throwing the arms from
side to side, all calling out at the same time at the top of their
voices, and seeming to enjoy the whole affair amazingly. An old [634]
chief of considerable influence, named Shadrack, sat with the [565]
missionaries at the head of the school, and whenever the crowd
outside talked too loud he commanded silence.

After this examination was over we visited another school, for 874
the instruction of native teachers, which consisted of about twenty (123)
persons in all, principally chiefs and their wives. When we
entered the school-room they were all standing up round the sides [565]
of the apartment, reading aloud. They were taught English,
arithmetic, geography, writing, &c. After the reading and cipher-
ing exercises were over, they sat down in two rows before a frame
containing a set of large maps. These were drawn down, one
after another, the natives repeating the names of the places, with
particulars respecting them, as they were severally touched by the
missionary. Captain Keppel then desired them to point out 874
various places which he named. Spain, being the first, was imme- 123
diately pointed out by a chief, Shadrack Moomie, Judge of the
Island and a son of the late king. The end of the rod was then [634]
shifted slightly over, so as to rest upon Portugal, which Shadrack
immediately named; and being asked to point out some islands
in the Mediterranean which were mentioned, he did so readily.
Being desired to show the track which should be taken by the
Meander, for England, he at once traced it correctly. The rest 874
of the pupils appeared equally intelligent. Several of the wives
of these chiefs were present, and were treated by the men with [593]
marked attention, being seated in the foremost places. The
missionaries call this "the native training institution," or school
for educating native teachers. At the time of our visit there
were twenty-four natives under this kind of instruction—eight
being from the island of Vavau, six from Haabai, and ten belong-
ing to Tongatabu. Besides these there are twelve female stu-
dents, eight of whom are wives of the native teachers: there was
also a chief from Feejee.

The two school-rooms, together with the houses of the native 874
teachers, are built within a fence enclosing about 20 acres of 351
ground, which was given for the purpose by King George. It is
cultivated as a garden by the teachers residing upon it; and a [346]
broad walk, bordered with pine-apple plants and bananas, runs [245]
along its whole length, and on each side are the cottages of the
teachers, with neatly kept paths leading to them from the main
walk.

After attending the examinations, Mr. Thompson, the chaplain of 123
the Meander, and myself, went upon an exploring stroll round the

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

place to see something of the usual occupations of the natives at 123
their homes. One of the things, that strikes a visitor most upon
his arrival at Tongatabu, is the incessant hammering which 287
commences at daybreak, and continues without intermission until [512]
about noon. To satisfy ourselves as to the cause of this, we
entered the first house in which we heard the noise, and found
two women engaged in making tappa, or native cloth. They
were seated on the ground, one on each side of a log about 6 feet
long and 6 inches square, which was raised just clear of the floor
by means of short bits of stick placed under the ends of it. Each [412]
woman had a piece of the bark, of which the tappa is made, laid
before her on the log, and was beating it with a wooden mallet
about a foot in length, the handle being rounded, and the striking
end square, with grooves in the sides. They wetted the bark from [415]
time to time, sprinkling water upon it from a large wooden bowl
that stood upon the ground beside them.

In another hut a woman was shaving the head of a young child 302
with a bit of glass broken from the neck of a bottle, dipping her [412]
finger into a cocoanut-shell of water and wetting the place as she [415]
went on; the little brown head became perfectly smooth and shining under the operation, which was so skilfully performed as not to disturb the child as it lay fast asleep on her arm. They call this operation fa-fai-ulu; literally, shave the head: shaving the chin being called te-lee kava, razor the beard.

In the next hut two men were busily employed in rigging the 523
model of a canoe, to sell or barter on board the ship; they were 439
very intent upon their work, leading all the ropes correctly, and finishing every part with great care.

In one house we found a native artist, a woman who made 531
designs for patterns on tappa. She was at work, and had several
lying by her which she had just finished. In a corner of the hut 251
lay a pile of enormous yams, some of them being upwards of
4 feet in length. This store, together with other provisions, had [843]
been collected by the husband against the confinement of his wife,
which appeared likely to take place very soon. The man sat 855
watching her, and nursing a fine boy, and seemed quite proud of 123
the attention with which we regarded his wife's performance. 609

In the course of our exploring excursion we called upon the 123
principal man of the place, who had presided at the school
examination in the morning. He was sitting alone in one corner 634
of the matted floor of his house, and welcomed us as we entered, [609]
desiring us to be seated beside him. The house was in no way
superior to the generality in the place, except in being a little [352]
larger and having the court-yard round it more carefully kept;
the only piece of furniture in it was a large kava bowl, which
hung up in the apartment. In a corner of the court-yard lay, [534]
[202]

what at first we took to be a canoe, about 5 feet in length and 634
18 inches deep; this was the "lali," or great drum of the town, 202
which was beaten to call the people together on important occasions. 123
The old chief, seeing our curiosity excited about it, took 534
up the sticks, two pieces of wood about 18 inches long, and began [609]
to beat it most vigorously, smiling all the time and nodding his
head as though he were giving us quite a musical treat, becoming
so energetic that we were afraid he would bring the whole place
to see what the matter was. It was struck on the edge, one side
being much worn away from continual beating. Although the
sound, when standing near the drum, did not appear to be very
loud, it could be heard distinctly for a considerable distance.

From the Governor's we went to the hill above the anchorage, 123
where the Meander's band was coming to play in the afternoon. On
the road we were passed by crowds of natives hurrying to the spot.
As the band had not yet arrived we went to look at the inside of the 346
church, which is a very perfect specimen of the native style of
building; the floor was about 130 feet long by 44 feet wide; the
roof being about 35 feet high in the middle, oval shaped and very
deep. There were no windows, the light coming in from the
openings in the sides, which served as entrances. The roof was
placed upon a frame of very large spars, secured where they
crossed each other by strong lashings, and supported by posts
below. The whole floor was matted and without division of any [352]
kind, excepting a low rail before the pulpit. This church was [643]
built for the missionaries by King George in a very short time, [797]
upwards of a thousand people being employed in its erection.

While I was making a sketch from the hill, a young man came
to me, and said he had a fine canoe to sell, and wished very much 123
that I would go home with him to look at it, saying, in English, 609
"Mine is a very good canoe; supposing you want it, I make 439
the sail to-night;" and then, admiringly, as though he were (126)
looking at it, "O it is a beautiful canoe." Being rather more
anxious about the sketch than his canoe, I did not pay much
attention to what he was saying; and he continued to stand at
my elbow, apparently watching every touch of the pencil very
intently. Imagining that he was interested in the proceeding, I
stopped, and held the book up for him to look at; but the canoe
was all he was thinking about, and eagerly seizing the opportunity
to direct my attention to his hut, among the cocoa-nut trees just
below, he came again to the point, saying, persuasively, "Do
come to the canoe;" and looking much disappointed when I said
I could not then spare the time, he continued, in a resigned tone, [435]
"Well, you have the canoe; I make sail to-night," mentioning
the sum of five dollars as the price of it. This latter idea put a
stop to any further negotiation on the matter as far as I was con-

123 cerned ; and thinking that by a rather decided answer I had got
609 rid of him, I again went on with my sketch.

[439] The natives had begun to assemble on the hill in considerable numbers, coming in troops from all quarters and gathering round the spot where the band was to play. The young women and
123 boys who had been crowding round me to see the sketch, now ran
609 off and joined the rest, all except my canoe friend, who still kept
439 hovering about, watching at a short distance until he should again catch my eye. There was now a fine chance, so he came up quite close, and looking me for a short time full in the face, with a most absurd, half-dejected, half-laughing expression, said, in an abstracted manner, and as if addressing no one in particular,
[435] "O, it is a beautiful canoe, mine." These continued interruptions became at last rather annoying, and as canoes could be obtained alongside for an old coat, I endeavoured to explain to my friend that his ideas were far too extravagant. He listened with an air of deferential attention until I had quite done, then said quietly, "You have not seen my canoe;" and warming with his subject, added energetically, "O it is beautiful!" After this, however distant he might be from the spot, he was sure to come and find me out whenever I landed, and haunt me with his "beautiful canoe." Often, when sketching in some retired part, where I hoped that for once I was safe from his persecution, I was sure to see my friend sitting somewhere among the trees, apparently quite unconscious of my presence, until he could quietly glide up and get near me without being perceived ; and when close enough to be heard, he would make some observation in praise of his canoe.

Sinbad was never more tormented with the old man on his shoulders than I was with this provoking native and his eternal
[435] canoe. At last I was fairly beaten by his passive system, and finding his canoe really a good one, I gave him—not the five dollars exactly—but a whole wardrobe of old clothes, which pleased him quite as well.

123 In this digression about the canoe I had almost forgotten the band, which arrived in due time, the people all sitting down on the ground in the most orderly manner, and forming a great circle round it, the best places being given to the women. The music-
[201] stands having been set up, and all the preparations completed, a duet from Norma, the Old Hundredth, Drum Polka, Irish Quadrilles, and British Grenadiers, followed each other in rapid succession, the principal chiefs expressing their approval at each pause between the pieces by calling out Mālo māléeah!—Well done! sweet! adding, "go on again."

501 *June 21st.*—At daylight this morning, two large double canoes, decked over, and having houses upon them, were seen lying at

anchor close to the edge of the reef in-shore of us. They were 501
crowded with natives busily engaged in unloading them, a number
of smaller canoes being employed in conveying their cargoes, 505
which consisted of bundles of matting, large baskets of yams and
other provisions, gear of various kinds, cooking utensils, &c., across
the shallow water on the reef to the landing-place at the beach.
Upon inquiring the cause of all this bustle from the natives along-
side the ship, they told us that these were the canoes of King 643
George, who had arrived from Haabai during the night; which 123
being confirmed by information obtained from the shore, the
Meander at eight o'clock fired a Royal salute, and soon after nine
Captain Keppel went on shore to pay a visit to his Majesty.

When we landed we heard that the King was engaged in 643
receiving his chiefs at a great kava party, but understanding that 644
our visit would not be considered an intrusion, we walked down 574
to the place of assembly, accompanied by one of the missionaries, 123
who obligingly offered to act as interpreter and to present us.

The place of meeting was a kind of shed, having the ends and [124]
back temporarily closed in with matting. Here we found the [344]
King seated cross-legged upon the ground, with five of his prin-
cipal chiefs on each hand, the rest of the chiefs sitting outside
the house and forming a great semicircle upon the lawn before it,
the bulk of the people being collected in a crowd beyond. All
round were great heaps of provisions—roasted pigs, yams, cooked
fish, and bundles of the kava root.*

The King is a fine man about forty-five years of age, upwards 643
of 6 feet in height, and powerfully made. His hair was cropped 142
quite close, and he had neither whiskers nor beard. Features well 302
formed, and forehead rather high than wide. His dress consisted
of a tappa petticoat, fastened round the waist and reaching down 643
to the feet. Above this he wore a large piece of fine matting, 292
folded many times, so as to make a great bundle round the body,
coming as high as the chest, the arms and shoulders being left
bare. He wore no ornament of any kind, and held in his hand 643
a green branch, which appeared to be merely for the purpose of [293]
keeping the flies off. The large mat is said to be a mark of [301]
distinction, and with the petticoat of tappa forms the court dress of [292]
Tonga, as no European clothing is allowed to be worn on these
occasions.

When we arrived at the house the business was about to com- 123
mence. We entered the apartment at the side, and took our
places upon mats behind the king, who did not appear to notice us 574
until the missionary had spoken to him, when he turned half round, 643

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* Kava is an infusion of the root of a species of pepper (Piper mythisticum), [276]
and upon every great occasion kava-drinking forms an important part of the
ceremony.

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

123 without rising, and shook hands—first with Captain Keppel, and
643 then with the rest of the party. He thanked Captain Keppel for
having brought him a letter from the governor of New Zealand,
574 but said that, having been engaged in receiving his chiefs that
morning, he had not yet had time to read it, and then, having
accepted an invitation to dine on board that day, he turned his
face away, and, resuming his former abstracted look, did not
speak again.

574 The ceremonies connected with the kava drinking were now
going on. Two chiefs, each carrying bundles of the root, came in
644 and laid them upon the mat before the king, where they left them
[276] and retired. The chief, sitting on the king's right hand, then
ordered them to be counted, upon which two men came and sat
down before them, with their faces towards the king. The ceremony
then proceeded in the order which we were informed was
usually observed on these occasions, as follows:—The chief demands
how many bundles there are, and the men count them, calling
out A-tá-ha! Ua! Túlu! one, two, three, and so on, touching
each bundle as they do so, and counting them over in this way
twice, the same form being observed although there might be only
two or three bundles. Pigs, yams, and other provisions are also
laid before the king and counted in the same manner, the pigs
being carved in the royal presence, each being divided into eight
parts, which are handed to the chiefs, who bring what they receive,
and again lay it before the king, retiring until his spokesman
[237] recalls them, when they finally take it away. The pig's liver is
laid upon leaves and presented to the king, who generally sends it
to some one as a mark of his favour.

574 Besides the chief on his right, who directs the ceremonies
generally, the king was attended by his orator, a venerable looking
644 old chief, who sat two removed from him on his left, and who, after
537 the chiefs had all presented their offerings, made a speech of thanks
for the king in return. He spoke rapidly, but distinctly, pausing
[201] for a few seconds between each sentence. During his oration, the
most perfect silence was observed, every one listening with an
appearance of great respect and attention; the chiefs, when he had
finished, calling out, Mālo-māléeah—very good, very sweet; the
king, all the time, sitting quite silent, and without appearing to
notice anything that was going on.

276 The kava root was now broken up into small portions with a
574 heavy pointed club, about five feet in length, made out of a whale's
jaw, the rind and points of the root being carefully removed, and
644 pieces of it handed round to the chiefs, who chewed it into a pulp,
[412] which they spat into a piece of plantain leaf, and went with it to a
[237] man sitting with a large wooden bowl before him, in the centre of
the semicircle, facing the king. When a sufficient quantity had
[415]

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 352
OU9 Ton a OU9
Tonga apu

276 now rose, one at a time, and went to him with small cups of green
574 banana leaf, which he filled with a dipper made by rolling up some
644 bark lightly into a rounded point. When the cup was filled, the
chief who received it turned round, and, advancing to the centre,
[415] fronted the king, holding it with both hands about breast high. A man stationed behind the kava-maker then called out "Kava-kua-heeka!" The kava having been lifted up, the king's spokesman proclaimed in the same tone to whom it should be given, frequently using some sobriquet to point out the person intended —as "atu ia kia Taaga!"—give it to the singer—give it to the laugher—give it to the dancer, and so on, but all in the most serious manner imaginable. It was then handed to the person indicated, who drank it off and threw the cup away.

● 123 After the kava had been all served out, the chiefs that sat out-
644 side the house rose and went off without any further ceremony—
the people carrying away their portions of pork, yams, &c.; and
[574] this being all that was to be seen then, we made our bow and took our departure, leaving the king to discuss state matters with his ministers, who remained sitting with him in the shed as we had found them. We afterwards called upon the queen, but were informed that she was rather unwell after her passage from Haabai; the young prince, George Vuna, however, was sent out to
644 receive us. He was a fine intelligent little fellow, about eight
[302] years of age, with large expressive brown eyes, his head being shaved quite smooth, excepting a lock over each temple. Four or five boys of his own age, his attendants and companions, came out
123 with him. Having indulged their curiosity by allowing them to take
a good stare at us, one of the party presented the prince with a
644 waistcoat which reached half way down to his ankles; another gave him a large silk handkerchief of a blue-and-white bird's-eye pattern, which was tied round his neck in a sailor's knot. We then left him, highly delighted with his new dress, his half-dozen naked attendants shouting and dancing round him.

123 From the palace I went with some others to see if we could col-
lect any curiosities among the houses, and while we were squatted
644 down in one of them, bartering for some tappa, the great town-
505 drum began to beat, and immediately afterwards a native came running in to tell us that the remainder of the royal fleet from Vavau and Haabai were coming in, bringing the Tamahá, a person of the highest rank in Tonga. This news quickly brought us to our legs, and we hurried off with the rest.

644 The day was brilliantly fine, and natives from all quarters were
collecting upon the hill, watching the approach of the royal fleet
505 of large double canoes, as it came up before the fresh sea-breeze, the canoes spreading all over the bay, some far off on the distant horizon, others nearer, threading their way between the little

islets round the anchorage. Closer at hand, some of the largest 644
and fastest sailers, their decks thronged with people, were crowd- 505.
ing upon one another like yachts in a regatta, their large angular
sails at times nearly touching the Meander's jib-boom end, as they 501
came sweeping across her bows, ploughing the sea up with their
sharp stems, and leaving broad tracks of shining white foam behind.
They were ornamented with long swallow-tailed streamers of dif-
ferent colours, the foot or lower part of some of the largest
sails being fringed with an edging of small flags placed close
together. Many had rows of large white cowries fastened on to
their bows, and carried black crescent-shaped ornaments at their
mast-heads. One canoe had a large black ball painted on the
centre of its sail. They came tearing along right up to the edge 502
of the reef, and, when it seemed as though another instant must
take them up high and dry on to the coral, would shoot up in the
wind's eye and shorten sail; prolonged shouts from the people in
the canoes already anchored greeting every fresh arrival. A
fleet of smaller canoes surrounded the Meander as she lay broad-
side on to the shore. Below the hill on the left, shaded by a 764
sombre looking group of casuarinas, was the tomb of Josiah, the 643
last King of Tonga, and near the spot where we stood, two small
trees of the same kind, planted by his sons, marked the site of his 137
palace.[*]

Having seen the last canoe arrive, we walked down the hill 123
to go on board. At the beach all was stir and bustle, small canoes
bringing the people on shore from the larger ones, which lay anchored 505
in the deep water at the edge of the reef. Some of the canoes
were loaded with enormously fat old women, and were being pushed
across the reef by men wading alongside, who helped the old ladies
out at the landing-place and set them on their legs with great care,
when they waddled up the beach like so many turtle. Wishing to 123
engage one of these canoes to take us off to the ship, we made 505
the men understand that if they would come with us we would pay
them for their trouble when they got on board; upon which they
ran up after the old ladies to ask their permission, which, how-
ever, was most unceremoniously refused. One of the most re- 000

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[*] Casuarina equisetifolia. Pickering, in his 'Races of Men,' mentions this tree
as having been introduced into Polynesia; and remarks that it has probably been
brought from the westward. My attention was particularly arrested by the use of [171]
it at Tongatabu as the emblem of mourning, from having noticed that the natives
of Twofold Bay, on the S.-eastern coast of Australia, select spots shaded by it for
the interment of their dead. In the only instance where this was not done, I re-
marked that branches of it were brought from some distance and laid upon the
newly-made grave. At Tahiti the grave of King Pomare (father of the present
Queen) stands in a grove of them. It grows generally by the sea-shore, where the
wind, passing through its fine hair-like leaves, produces a mournful sighing sound,
which, with its sombre tint, adapts it peculiarly to the same purposes as the cypress
and trees used in other countries for planting near tombs.

compliment explained to him, he immediately thanked Captain 643
Keppel and his officers. After dinner chairs were taken on deck 609
and the party adjourned to the poop, where the band played a
variety of airs, opera pieces, &c., with which his Majesty appeared
much pleased, saying at the end of every piece, "Mālo" (very good),
adding slowly with a deep bass voice, "Māléeah" (very sweet).
Coffee being served on deck, he laughed at our taking such a
variety of things at one meal, but drank two cups which he half
filled with sugar. He then made a short speech addressed to
Captain Keppel to the purpose "That he was proud a vessel so
large, and belonging to so great a nation, should come to see him
who was so weak and his people so few. That it made him feel 643
glad to see Captain Keppel and so many officers;" and then, 609
alluding to Tahiti, said, "that he knew of the confusion caused by 648
the French; that he wished not their visits and friendship; that
theirs was (unga mátē) a deadly shade, observing, that he did not
say this because he was sitting beside one of the Queen of England's
great chiefs, and on board her ship, but that, if his departed
ancestors could come to speak there that day, they would all bear
witness to his truth, and that if every member of his body had a
voice they would all say, thank you." He spoke fluently, with 643
pleasing intonation and dignified manner. We were told that 609
the Meander was the largest vessel he had ever seen, and he was
very particular in his inquiries as to the number of men and guns
she carried, and expressed some curiosity to know where and how
the men all slept. To explain this, a hammock was taken out of
the nettings and slung under the spanker-boom. While this
was being done, the men forward happened to be hoisting a bullock
out of the boom-boats to be lowered on to the main deck
for killing. This caught his attention and seemed to interest
him more than anything that had been shown him, and forgetting
for a moment his usually dignified manner, he picked up his
tappa gown, and ran forward to look at it.

About seven o'clock he took his departure under a royal salute; and at eight, a number of rockets were sent up, all the natives coming down to the beach to look at them, calling out to each other as they watched them ascending, "See! see! how they walk in the sky!"

June 22nd.—Hearing that the king was to give another great 123
kava party to-day, I went with several others to see it. There 643
was, however, nothing new in the ceremony, but on this occasion I 126
succeeded in getting a sketch of his Majesty, who soon perceived
what I was about, and when it was finished, desired to see it.
The chiefs also were all curious to see it, passing it from one to
another, saying as they looked at it, "It *is* the king." When I (609)
asked through one of the missionaries for the royal autograph, the [212]

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king said he did not like to write before so many white men, who
126 were all so much wiser, and who knew how to write so much
609 better than himself, but that he would write it for me when alone.
212 After the Assembly broke up we went to the palace, where we
had called the day before, and found the queen prepared to
123 receive us. Her Majesty was seated on mats in the centre, or
644 chief place of the apartment; the king sitting on her right, and
three principal chiefs on her left hand, the rest of the chiefs all
sitting round in a great semicircle on the lawn before the palace,
644 as they had done at the kava party. The queen is about thirty,
[142] very stout, with a round good-natured face, large and full eyes,
with a very pleasing expression, small mouth and very white
[302] regular teeth. She wore her hair short, and dressed with a white
powder rubbed on wet, and then combed so as to stand up like
the front of a barrister's wig—a mode of hair-dressing by no
644 means unbecoming in the Tongaese women. She received us
609 without rising, smiling and holding out her hand as we were
presented. There were present on this occasion a number of
[123] Feejee chiefs, who had just arrived with one of their principal
000 men. They had their faces and necks blackened, and wore
enormous bushes of hair, dyed different colours and curiously
arranged, very much resembling in this respect the natives of the
[157] Louisiade. They were smaller and much darker in colour than
the Tongaese, with a wild restlessness of expression, quite different
from the placid manner of the Friendly Islanders. Upon seeing
123 me the king remembered my wish to have his autograph, and
126 taking my sketching tablet and pencil with him into the royal bed-
609 chamber—a small room divided by a mat-partition from the one
212 in which we sat—he wrote his name, and brought them out to me
again. Wishing to have that of the queen, whom I had heard
[643] could write, I ventured to ask for hers also. She appeared
[644] pleased with the idea, and smiling, at once got up from her mats,
and going into the bedroom, as the king had done, returned again
immediately, having placed her own signature, "Charlotte Lube,"
[643] or Charlotte the Dove, below that of her royal master. The
king signs "George Tubou," or George the King.

123 I had tried the day before, without success, to procure one of
the musical instruments mentioned by Cook, a kind of flute
126 played with the nose, called a "fung fung," and a native girl
[534] had undertaken to find or make one for me to be ready when we
came on shore to-day. Hearing that she had kept her promise, and
moreover was quite prepared to show me the mode of playing it,
I slipped away from the Royal party, and started off with one of
the missionaries to go up to his house, that I might see the performance,
but as we met her upon the road, bringing three or four
123 of the flutes with her, we turned and walked back. When, how-
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ever, we reached the entrance to the Royal enclosure, she hesitated, and would not go in, but continued standing at one of the side-gates, where she could not be seen from the house. After [533] several ineffectual attempts to persuade her to show me how the instrument was played, I gave it up in despair, and returned to the rest of the party, who were seated with the king and queen listening to the band. A short time after I had sat down I thought I saw the matting behind the queen moving as if it were being pushed gently forwards, and my curiosity being awakened, I continued to watch it attentively; it stopped, but in a few minutes there was another movement, and a head was popped in sideways, but instantly withdrawn as I recognised the laughing face of the young lady of the fung fung. I think the queen observed me, for much to my alarm she turned round, and caught sight of the head, which came through again at the same instant, and I was not a little relieved when, instead of showing any displeasure, she spoke in the most good-humoured manner, apparently inviting her to come in, for immediately after, the body followed the head, and the girl seated herself behind the queen. Noon was our time for getting under way, and my chance of hearing the fung fung was becoming less probable every moment. Finding there was no other hope left for it, I requested one of the missionaries to use his influence to see if it could be done. The queen laughed [609] when she heard that I was so anxious about the matter, and even the grave features of his Majesty relaxed into a smile as he seconded my wishes by a Royal command. The girl, rising from her place beside the Queen, came and sat down close in front of me with the fung fung in her hand, while with all the gravity I could muster, I took out my tablets and pencil ready to commence my sketch with the first note, but the moment she put the fung fung up to her nose and began to blow, there was no standing it; my attempts at gravity, by appearing to be very intent upon the sketch, only made the case more desperate, and the girl happening to look at me, it was impossible to contain ourselves any longer, and there was a general burst of laughter—in which no one joined more heartily than the king and queen. The young lady skipped away, nearly overturning one of the missionaries in her hurry to get behind the queen again. She could not be induced to make another attempt in public, but said she would play it in the next apartment where she might be heard without being seen, but here the first few puffs were always followed by her half-suppressed bursts of laughing, in which everybody outside joined, so that after all I got no regular performance on the fung fung. It was now nearly 12 o'clock, and, taking our farewell of their Majesties, we went down to the beach, I, for one, sincerely hoping that the "northing" in the breeze might keep us for a day or two longer.

General Remarks.

Kava.—The use of the kava, from its intoxicating property 276
when taken in any quantity, is discountenanced by the missionaries,
but the custom seems to prevail nearly as much now as when
Cook visited the islands. It is the first thing prepared by a chief 276
when visited by his friends, and to neglect this would be considered 574
a want of courtesy amounting to insult, which would be highly 576
resented. At kava parties the ring is kept clear, no one who is
not employed in some duty connected with the ceremony being
allowed within it, and to walk across it would be considered as an
insult to the whole assembly. The kava is carried by inferior chiefs [554]
to those of higher rank, and the king would take it to the Tamahá [565]
or Tui Tonga Tagata. When they have drank the kava they throw 276
away the small cup in which it is served, and at neither of the
two great kava meetings we saw was the same cup used twice.
It is considered best when chewed by young women. In my strolls 249
round the island I saw several plantations of it; the young shoots 123
had just spread into leaf and were hoed, the ground between
them being carefully cleared of weeds.

Human Sacrifices.—The last human sacrifice was offered at Mua 782
about eight years ago, on the occasion of the death of Fátu, the 766
chief of the place, to propitiate the god who they thought had
punished them by thus depriving them of their chief. It was
a boy, about eleven years of age, who was strangled with a piece
of tappa passed round his neck, and then drawn tightly by two
men, one of whom was his own father!

Finger Sacrifices.—Many of the natives have lost their little 782
fingers. These were formerly cut off by the parents of the children 304
as offerings to the gods, to obtain success in war, or to propitiate
them in cases of sickness.

Disease in Children.—The children when first born, and for 164
some time after, are very healthy, but invariably about a certain
age break out into sores which spread all over the body. I have
observed the same thing at Cape York, and some of the islands
of Torres Straits, where the natives call it Badálli, and attribute
it to the influence of the Mydállaga, or men who deal in charms,
or to the ill wish of some secret enemy.

The Tabu.—Whatever might have been the mysterious nature 784
and origin of the tabu, it simply means now something forbidden.
A tent being set up near the beach for the purpose of affording 784
shelter to the men who were sent ashore to burn lime, and to contain
their clothes, provisions, and cooking utensils, the natural 609
curiosity of the natives made them rather troublesome, which being
observed by an old chief, he called them all out and placed the

784 tent under tabu, but this restriction, although observed while he
609 was in sight, had evidently no great weight with them, for when
he was gone they came crowding in as before.

609 *Friendly Disposition of the Natives.*—The friendly disposition
of the Tonga Islanders is worthy of remark. Immediately
upon our arrival, nearly every one who went on shore had
609 his particular friend. I was adopted by a chief named Julius,
who exchanged names with me, and was very particular in making
123 me understand that I must apply to him for anything I might require,
and regularly came down to meet me when I landed, always
609 wishing that I should go and dine with him. They showed great
attention in this respect to all the officers who went on shore, taking
them to their houses when they came back from shooting, laying
out before them boiled fowls, yams, cocoa-nuts, and bananas,
and frequently, when a whole party had dined in this way at one
place, some other natives would come who had also prepared a
dinner for them, and be greatly disappointed upon finding that
they had been already entertained, trying to tempt them to eat
more by bringing what they had prepared and spreading it out
before them.

186 *King George's Flag.*—At the time of our visit the Tongaese had no distinguishing flag, the chiefs ornamenting their canoes with long streamers made with pieces of coloured cotton arranged according to fancy, and it was suggested to the king that he should have a national flag. Since this, he has been to the missionaries and requested that they would prepare one for him, which I hear they have done, and it is described as follows:—"It has occurred to us, that a fit emblem of the past history of Tonga might be a club and a bow and arrows, showing the warlike character of the people. For its present Christian state we select the emblem of a dove with an olive branch, and for the natural state of Tonga, and the bounty of Divine Providence, we fix upon the cocoa-nut tree, as affording so many and various articles for meat and drink and building and furniture."

439 *Proposed Trade between Tongatabu and New Zealand.*—There
has been some attempt to establish a trade in cocoa-nut oil between
these islands and New Zealand. It was proposed that King
439 George should collect sufficient cocoa-nut oil to freight a small
643 schooner, which was to be sent from New Zealand when the cargo
should be ready for it. The oil was then to be sold, and the vessel
purchased for the king with the proceeds. This plan does not
seem to have been met very warmly by the king, who, I believe,
once had a vessel of this description, but having lost her, he has
given up the idea of trading, saying that he is tired of trying to get
rich, remarking that if one of his large canoes is lost he can easily
get another from the Feejees; that he wants nothing among his

Whaling in Tonga

by R. T. SANDERS

I HAD OFTEN been a spectator, alternately fascinated and repelled, while a 225
whale was cut up on the seafront at Nuku'alofa at low tide. The great dark [123]
hulk of the whale broken by vivid red gashes where the cutters had exposed
the flesh, the ivory gleam of a vast rib, the gory figures hacking away in the
midst of the shambles, and the green lagoon waters incarnidined around the
carcase—all this was, perhaps providentially, just beyond the range of
accurate vision, out at the reef's edge beside the whale boats which still flew
their black and white flags at the masthead, signalling success. Close in at 443
the foreshore were the punts which served as ferries and market stalls for the
rich red squares of whale meat. These were always surrounded by eager [501]
Tongan purchasers of all ages, up to their knees in the water, chattering
excitedly and good-naturedly jostling for position.

But, of course, it was the prelude to all this that I really wanted to see, 123
that prelude on the high seas which was in fact the main act to which the
cutting and selling were but the aftermath. And as we slipped our moorings
one grey, silvery morning I realised my desire. I was not travelling in the
whaling boat. Knowing the superstitions of whaling men, and also the
hazards a stranger could cause both for himself and for the crew of the boat
in its small confines, I had neither sought nor expected such an invitation.
Enough to be about to see the whalers in action from close quarters aboard
a fisheries launch.

There were two boats, identical and adequately described as typical 501
whaling boats, but typical of the great days of whaling in the last century. 225
'Double-enders', (pointed fore and aft) both were rigged with a gaff-sail and
a jibsail and handled magnificently in the wind. But their rôles were to be
widely different. One was the 'killer boat', its name sufficient indication of
its function, the other was the 'stand-by boat' and during the chase its sole
duty is to be ready to pick up the crew of the other boat if it comes to grief.
It takes no part in the killing.

The tale of these whaling men would form a saga in itself. They were 225
mostly members of one family, originally from England, who had emigrated 563
to the Americas and sailed out of Nantucket in the days when Herman
Melville was writing *Moby Dick*. From there they had come to the south seas
and settled in Tonga. A mingling of races seemed rather to have increased
their hardihood, and the swarthy figures crouched in the boats had a calm
confidence born of inherited skill blended with Polynesian pride of race and
natural seamanship.

For the long haul to the whaling ground our launch towed the whale 225
boats and the leading whalers sailed with us, our taller mast giving them a
greater range of vision. Then a long period of waiting as we quartered the
sea in search for the feathery waterspouts which are usually the first sign of